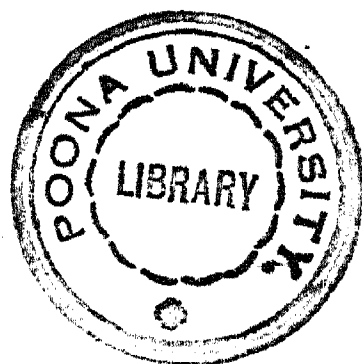


NATIONAL SELF-REALISATION



BY

S. E. STOKES

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

C. F. ANDREWS



1921

S. GANESAN, PUBLISHER,
TRIPLICANE :: MADRAS, S. E.

स्वधर्ममपि चावेक्ष्य न विकम्पितुमर्हसि ॥

धन्यादि युडाच्छ्रेयोऽन्यद्विजयस्य न विद्यते ॥ ३१ ॥

यदृच्छ्या चोपपन्नं स्वर्गद्वारमपावृतम् ॥

सुखिनः क्षत्रियाः पार्थ लभन्ते युद्धमीदृशम् ॥ ३२ ॥

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DEAR ANDREWS,

When up here last autumn you were good enough to suggest that I turned over to you, for publication in book form, the various articles and essays written by me upon the problems of India.

At first, I was inclined to doubt the value of this, but upon going over them in the order in which they were written I have come to the conclusion that they may have their place. If they have no other significance they at least show fairly consequitively the path by which one who had always considered himself a Liberal came at last to a position where he could vote whole heartedly for the change in the Congress creed.

As you know, philosophy is my chief interest not politics. Yet philosophy, if it is of any vital value, must affect one's attitude towards the problems of the life in which we find ourselves. Mine has not permitted me to sit quietly in my study while the events of the last three or four years have been taking

place, and I thank you for the encouragement
your assurance gives me that what I have
written has not been written in vain.

I leave it to you to apologise for any
defects of style or matter that you may find
since it is you alone who are responsible for
the publication of this book.

Yours ever,

Kotgarh, March 4th 1921.

S. E. STOKES

INTRODUCTION

Mr. S. E. Stokes of Kotgarh has requested me to write a brief introduction to the book which he is now publishing. His experience has, in a very remarkable manner, led him to the same conclusion which I had reached along a different path. We came out to India nearly at the same time, early in the present century ; and we have both gained our knowledge at first hand from life itself, and not from books only. For a very long time, both of us struggled hard against the inevitable conclusion, which is stated so clearly in the present chapters. It was not at all an easy conclusion for either of us to accept.

Mr. Stokes came from an old English stock, that settled in America in the early colonising days. His ancestors were members of the Society of Friends, who are sometimes called Quakers. They came along with William Penn to Pennsylvania, the Quaker American settlement. These Quaker colonists made friends with the original inhabitants who were then in

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a primitive state of society. They won their love instead of their hate. The Quaker blood in Mr. Stokes is strong today, making him a friend of humanity, and not of one nation alone. He has lived, during the greater part of his time in India, among the villagers, sharing their life chiefly, within the United Provinces and in the Punjab, made one with them in their joys and sorrows. From the plains he went up to the Hills, and his love for the hill people has become the deepest thing in all his nature. He now shares the hill man's life by the ties of marriage as well as in other ways; for he has married a Rajput lady, and has six children whom he has brought up as Indians to such an extent, that they have not yet learnt a single word of English. I have visited him many times in earlier days and have stayed with him. He was at the leper hospital at Sabathu, where he very nearly lost his life from typhoid fever. Later on, he lived and worked in the plague and small pox camp at Lahore, where he nursed back to health a young student of the Forman College.

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While Mr. Stokes' own experience during these years has been confined to India and America, my own time has been partly spent in wandering over the face of the earth to distant colonies, where I have seen the treatment meted out to Indian settlers by the ruling 'white race' and have shared in their humiliations. It is surely no light matter, when, at the end of the last years of both our lives, we compare notes together, after long absence from each other, we find that we have come to the same conclusion as to the impossibility of India remaining with self-respect within the British Empire as it now stands.

Mr. Stokes had asked me, and asked me again, to come up to Kotgarh to help him to expose, in the public Press, the iniquities of forced labour in the Simla Hills. At last the opportunity arrived and I stayed with him, and saw with my own eyes the evil that was being wrought among the sturdy hill-men, turning them into a race of timid serfs. During those days, which we spent together, it was natural that I should unburden my heart about

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the deeper problem which had given me such intense pain,—the humiliation, not of Hill men only under the Begar system, but of every Indian, rich and poor alike, as subject people within the British Empire. I explained to him how, some months ago, I had sent a message to the Press, which was published immediately in all the papers, saying that I could not endure to think of this humiliation any longer, and that nothing short of independence and separation from the British Empire seemed to me to be the ultimate Indian goal. Mr. Stokes, in his home far away in the Hills, had not seen this; but on hearing what I said, he told me that more and more he had been driven to the same conclusion.

During the war, Mr. Stokes did everything in his power to help the British Empire to victory. He naturalised himself as a British citizen and became an officer in the army. He won distinction by his zeal for recruiting. He believed firmly in the righteousness of the allied cause. But the Peace Treaties have brought with them disillusionment; and today he regards the

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this question will be raised at the Imperial Conference in June, perhaps not by Australia only. Now that the Dominions are acknowledged as free nations, within the Empire, *it may well be that a written pact will be asked for.*"

The 'Times' Editor replied as follows :—

"To our thinking, there can be no doubt about the answer. If there is any doubt that Great Britain would be ready, in case of need to support Australia on this issue with all her strength, then we may say farewell, not only to Australia but to the other Dominions; for New Zealand, South Africa, Canada, all hold the same belief with almost equal determination. This is one of the danger points as between Great Britain and the Dominions. Here,—an out post planted on the extreme West of Europe,—we have no knowledge of the influence upon white civilisation of a non-European population and no experience of the evils of mixed blood. To be frank, the people of the United States are far more in sympathy with Dominion opinion on this race question than we are; for they have practical

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menace of the white race supremacy as the most sinister portent in the present history of mankind.

How great that menace is, will be seen from the chapters which follow. I would place on record, at the end of this introduction, a passage from a leading article in the London 'Times.' This was written on Mr. Keith Murdoch's message to England, which was given on the anniversary of the Australian Foundation Day. Mr. Keith Murdoch had written as follows :—

"We come to the frank question, whether Britain is as much prepared to maintain Australia's interests in the Pacific, as Australia proved herself prepared to defend Britain's in Europe. The object of the policy of a 'White Australia' is not mere economic selfishness, but the sacred cause of racial purity. Therefore Australia demands that the *status quo* in the Pacific should be guaranteed, if need be, by British guns. Will Britain if need be build great ships? Will she *fight* for 'White Australia'? The Australians believe that the answer will be 'Yes'. But

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experience of it, and we have none. To some people, in this country, the race question,—as between White and non-White,—is either a joke, or a symbol of crude lack of culture. They refuse to take it seriously, or they grow hot with indignation at the exclusion of non-white peoples from British countries. This way leads to worse friction with the Dominions than has occurred for half a century. Fortunately British Statesmen know better than to treat such questions with levity or arrogance, and so long as Lord Milner was at the Colonial Office the Dominions knew that they had to deal with one who thoroughly understood and was in sympathy with their faiths."

What is missed altogether by the writer of this editorial is the fact that, just because there are people in England who still regard the race question,—as between "White and non-White,—as a symbol of crude lack of culture" and who "grow hot with indignation at the idea of the exclusion of non-White peoples from British countries",—just because

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there are still such people in England, the present position of India has not become quite intolerable to every single Indian. But once let it be clearly known, that the Empire stands for an undiluted 'White Australia' policy, and a 'White New Zealand' policy, and a 'White Canada' policy, and a 'White South Africa' policy, and even (so it appears) a 'White East Africa' policy, and, in the long run, there will not be a single Indian, be he moderate or ultra-moderate, who will not want to get out of such an Empire altogether.

For what does this policy involve for India herself? We have still, in India, to suffer the humiliation, worse than death, of allowing many thousands of our Indian soldiers to go out as mercenaries to Mesopotamia and other lands, in order to hold down by force Asiatic peoples struggling to be free. We have thus, however unwillingly, supported an Imperialism destructive of other peoples' liberties in Asia itself. We have been used as a tool to bring still further into subjection,

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under the white races, the peoples of Asia. And now, we are to be called upon, at the bidding of Australia and other colonies, to fight once more 'White' race supremacy, India is to be compelled, for the sake of the solidarity of the Empire, to uphold a 'White' Australia policy against Japan, and indeed against herself! The thing is unthinkable.

A passage from the 'Introduction' of a standard work on political history, called "An Analysis of the system of Government throughout the British Empire" (published by Macmillans) should open the eyes of every thinking man to the position, which India is being forced into, by remaining within the British Empire under these conditions. It runs as follows :—

"The only manner in which any portion of the British Empire can secure the rights of a neutral, in time of war, is by a formal separation as a nation from the remaining Dominions of the crown. There is no middle course between absolute solidarity in the international sphere and complete independence. "Colonial neutrality", when the Empire is at

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war with a first class Power, is simply another word for "Declaration of Independence."

We have then, on the one hand, the assurance of Mr. Keith Murdoch, that a written pact may be asked for at the Imperial cabinet meeting in June which will pledge India to engage in a war of 'White' supremacy, for the maintenance of the 'White Australia policy.' And, on the other hand, we are faced with the authoritative statement, that to be neutral "when the Empire is at war with a first class power is simply another word for Declaration of Independence."

I have brought this dilemma forward, not as a subtle logical argument, but as a hard bed-rock fact. The chapters of Mr. Stokes which follow will show how real the danger is, and how we cannot afford to trifle with it for a moment longer.

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

PART I

ESSAYS: POLITICAL AND NATIONAL

Essays : Political and National

I

THE VALUE OF THE GURUKULA*

IN order that we may be ennobled by the moulding influence of some great purpose we must have an ideal, for, without an ideal to give it birth, purpose is an impossibility.

We rejoice that India is a land of ideals, and that in all ages its people have recognised that there are greater and nobler things prepared for man than mere material aggrandisement or worldly pleasure.

Nevertheless, although this idealistic tendency furnishes us with cause for rejoicing, we must face the fact that there is another side of the Indian character, as it exemplifies itself in the lives and thoughts of the majority of the masses, which fills those who have India's welfare at heart with deep anxiety.

* *Vedic Magazine* May 1912.

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Indeed, were it not for the fact that with each succeeding year we see more Indians coming to the front whose ideals find their expression in the high purpose which leads to action and self-sacrifice, we would tremble for the future of India.

We would tremble for the future of India because her people as a whole, although they have ideals, do not believe in their capacity to realise them,—because their lack of faith in their ability to live up to their ideals has led them, with some splendid exceptions, to compromise and contentment with that which they knew was not the highest and most noble.

Indians know that unselfish patriotism, honesty, truthfulness, kindliness, pity and purity of thought and life are the heritage of man. They know that these are the things of real value, with which alone the soul of man should rest content. And yet, for the most part, they feel that the circumstances and complications of the world in which they live make it impossible to attain them. Consequently

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they fall into that state of mind, so devastating to all that is best in us, when, conceiving themselves to be the victims of environment, they allow their lives to be governed by principles which they know are not the highest.

It is this spirit which pervades Indian life to-day. Everywhere we find that there are two standards—one, the standard of true righteousness, which dictates without compromise what we *ought* to do, and the other, the actual standard by which men live, which measures up to what they think their surroundings will permit them to do and be.

The consequences of this attitude towards life are deadly in their effect upon moral strength and raise tremendous obstacles in the path of national progress. When, for instance, in a religious home boys see their father most careful to observe all ceremonial obligations and deeply devoted to the high and noble precepts of saints and sages, yet know that in business he is not honest or, at other times, always careful to tell the truth, can we imagine that they will not suffer morally?

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Nor will it help them in moral strength if they hear him say in honest sorrow that his greatest desire is to lead a true and upright life, but that the fact of his living in a world of dishonest men and methods make it impossible, and forces him to do many things which he knows are not right. Will they not inevitably come to the conclusion that high ideals belong to books, but that in the stern struggle of life, men must see to their own interests and employ whatever methods will make it possible to attain their ends? This is without any doubt the spirit which pervades the life of India today; men honour righteousness in the abstract, but the vast majority do not feel it can be realised in practical life. Hence, though India is a land of ideals, it is for most people, also, a land of surrendered ideals.

Yet, none who love India truly and unselfishly can rest content with such a state of affairs, for all who have studied the history of national progress and development throughout the world recognise that advance is

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impossible unless the nation or individual has an ideal, believes in it, and is actively trying to realise it. Where nations have lost their ideals, or—worse still—have retained their ideals but have ceased trying to live up to them, the result has been stagnation, deterioration and death.

How can this great defect be combated? How can Indians be influenced to believe in their ability to realise their ideals, and to incorporate into the fibre of their lives those manly and noble qualities, which for long ages have been too often confined to books? It is a difficult problem to solve, for reformers have to wage a deadly fight with one of the greatest enemies of national progress—an adverse mental environment.

Where a boy grows up, forming his character and developing his mental attitude in the midst of a community which lives and acts upon the assumption that it is visionary and impractical for one in the world to attempt to conform his life to high ideals, we can hardly hope that any amount of reading

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from moral text-books, or the admonitions of teachers, will arouse him to that moral vigour which chafes under an unattained ideal and is satisfied with nothing short of the best.

Without an environment favourable to high ideals and a strenuous effort to realise them, it will be well nigh impossible to create a generation of young men capable of taking a noble share in the social and moral uplift of India. As Max Cun has remarked, "Environment begins to operate, with the beginning of life; nor does it ever cease to operate, not for an instant, as days become months and the months years". To this we might add the words of an American poet :

“Nor dream that acts heroic wait on chance;
The man's whole life preludes the single deed,
That shall decide if his inheritance
Be with the sifted few of matchless breed,
Or with the unmotivated herd that only sleep
and feed.”

How true it is ! The foundations of self-sacrifice and noble aspiration which some day are to blossom forth into generous and heroic

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action, must be laid hour, by hour, and day by day, through childhood, if they are to be laid well.

Manifestly then, where the general mental and moral atmosphere does not favour the development of these qualities, we must strive to produce one which will conduce to such development.

This is exactly what the Gurukula is attempting to do. Its founder saw that the future of India depended upon India's young men, and that none but those who loved their Motherland, and believed enthusiastically in her and in her future, would be able to meet the questions, or solve the problems which lay ahead, or serve her efficiently in the hour of her need. Hence they set to work to create an atmosphere where such qualities could develop.

And, in a great measure, it would seem that they have succeeded. In the Gurukula at Kangri are to be found many of those influences so necessary for the building up of character, yet so wanting in the life of the ordinary boy. In

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the first place the atmosphere of the institution is definitely *purposeful*. The men at the head of it are idealists and patriots whose idealism and patriotism do not end with words, but bear fruit in devoted and enthusiastic service. Aside from religion—upon which I do not intend to touch in this article—there could be no greater power in forming the character and standpoint of a growing boy. To live year after year in the atmosphere of great purpose, and to see an ever-growing ideal constantly realised in the lives as well as the teachings of one's preceptors,—it is impossible to over-estimate the value of this in fitting a boy to live a manly life and to serve his country.

These are undoubtedly the two great formative influences in the Gurukula, but there are a host of hardly less important ones. For example, let us consider the question of discipline. In the ordinary home a boy is apt to be spoiled by too much petting and indulgence. This fault is not only confined to India, for in all countries there are adoring grand-mothers, mothers, and aunts. It operates, however,

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against the development of manly self-reliance and unselfishness in the boy. He grows up to consider that it is his prerogative to be waited upon, and that he has a right to feel injured if his every whim is not gratified. His personal ease and comfort become to him the most important things in life, and unless he is an exceptional lad, over-petting and indulgence are apt to make him, as he grows older, both selfish and inconsiderate—qualities which hardly fit him to sacrifice himself for his home, much less his country.

In the Gurukula a boy escapes all this. He learns to conform his life to rule—and a very strict rule at that. He is supplied with the most nourishing food, and at the same time is expected to work hard, and not waste his opportunities. Above all, he learns by early rising, cold bathing, and in many other ways that laziness and self-indulgence are not paths to true happiness, and that obligation rather than inclination must be the dynamic of the happy life.

There is another matter in which the

atmosphere of the Gurukula exercises a salutary influence over the lives of its students. In ordinary life, whenever one ventures to criticise evil customs, defects of social organisation, or failures in Indian character, he is constantly met by such expressions as *Kya karen?* *Kaliyug hai, or zamana waisa hi hai.* As a consequence he comes, as has been previously remarked, to feel that all weaknesses whatsoever are inevitable—the result of the corruption of the age—and that there is no remedy for them.

How different is the ideal of the Gurukula in this respect! Its staff fully recognise that weaknesses exist on every hand, and that there is much in every department of life which is not as it should be. Yet, not for one moment will they admit that these faults and evils must continue to exist, but, by their lives and teaching, are constantly striving to overcome what they consider mistaken or wrong in the lives of their fellow countrymen. That the writer cannot in certain particulars agree with them as to what these evils are

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in no degree detracts from his admiration for their self-sacrificing devotion to whatever they consider to be for the welfare of the Motherland.

They believe in India—these professors in the Gurukula. They believe in the greatness of her past and are confident in the glory of her future. As a consequence, they are able to teach those in their charge that the evils of the present *can* and *must* be overcome. Though not personally agreeing with many of the conclusions at which the Arya Samaj has arrived as regards Indian History, the writer is in the heartiest agreement with the spirit in which they teach it. For the person best fitted to teach Indian boys about their Motherland is surely the one who loves her dearly, glories in her past good, and confidently believes in her great future. There may be others who teach history with a more exact conformity to what the rest of the world considers to be the facts, but it is this spirit of enthusiasm which *makes* history, and makes the boys who come under its influence the moulders of history.

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These are the main reasons why we should appreciate and welcome the Gurukula. Whatever its defects—and like all other institutions in the world it is not without them—it has succeeded in creating within its walls the atmosphere of purposeful effort which is so needed and so lacking in India to-day. The boys who come from it, after having completed its curriculum, whatever may be their other faults, will love India and believe in her future glory, and, unless we much mistake, many of them will follow the example set them by their masters, giving their lives to the service of their countrymen. The graduates of the Gurukula, as far as we can judge from the training they are receiving, should be strong and manly men. Tennyson has said :

“ Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power.”

And it would seem that these are pre-eminently the qualities which the life, teaching, and example set in the institution should develop in its students, if it at all succeeds in

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realising the ideal of its honoured founder, Lala Munshi Ram.

One thing remains to be demonstrated, but this cannot be done until students from Kangri have left the school to take their place in the world. We shall then watch them with deepest interest as husbands, fathers, and members of society. When once the lads who have grown up in the Gurukula demonstrate to us that they have not only become strong men, but are tender sons and affectionate members of their respective families as well, our present belief will be turned to positive conviction that the Gurukula at Kangri and similar institutions have a very important part to play in shaping the destinies of India.

II

THE AMERICAN WOMAN*

TO begin with I am prepared to admit that there doubtless are in America many such women as Dr. Bose describes, through I have personally never met them. At the sametime I would remark that it is dangerous for a foreigner to attempt an essay on American womanhood based upon experience gained from a residence in what Americans call "the Middle West" and "the North West". The latter section, many of us would call "the Wild West". It must be remembered that types, ideals, and customs differ widely in various parts of the country, and certainly the characteristics of the people he describes—their attitude towards marriage, the relations between husband and wife, their attitude towards divorce are *not* typical of the best American life.

Doubtless, in the more recently settled sections of the United States—and within the

* Comment upon Dr. Sudhindra Bose's article on "The American Woman."—*Modern Review* Sept. 1917.

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memory of the parents of many of us, Illinois and Iowa were wild tracts of wilderness and prairie, uninhabited save by wandering tribes of Red Indians—there will be found such conditions as Dr. Bose describes, also in every town and city is to be found a large and non-descript section of the population, only a generation or two removed from ignorant immigrant ancestors, who have prospered more or less in material things and have acquired the speech, outward habits and peculiarities which foreigners have been pleased to describe as “American”, yet who have never assimilated the spirit of American home life, and in fact may be said never to have come in contact with it.

Yet such a spirit exists, and it is only just to recognise in it the true type of the American ideal in the various aspects in which it expresses itself. I repeat that it is fitting to accept it as the *only* true American ideal, for it is the ideal which made America. It is that which eight or ten generations ago led our ancestors across the Atlantic to suffer

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hardship, and often death, for the sake of freedom to worship God, and to bring up their children to worship him in the manner which their consciences dictated. It was this ideal which gave them strength to overcome all difficulties and to carve out for themselves a home in the wilderness. It was this ideal which demanded of them simplicity of life, and though they lived simply, the old books and letters which they have left behind them show that they thought high thoughts and lived nobly. Divorce was hardly known among them ; parents loved their children and children honoured their parents, and treated their elders with respect.

Again it was this inherited ideal which gave the descendants of the founders of our nation the courage to fight for their own freedom in 1776 and 1861, to fight for five years for the freedom of the slaves, and which, from the foundation of the nation until this day, has stood for all that is highest and best in the life of the American people.

During the last century, multitudes came to

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America from every part of Europe to share in the privileges of the national life which our ancestors had evolved so bravely and in the face of so many difficulties. In numbers they soon came to be more than we. Some portion of the ideal upon which our ancestor's had built the foundation of the nation's life they grasped and made their own; other aspects of the ideal seemed to escape them. They failed among other things to grasp the fact that freedom means freedom from tyranny—not freedom from discipline. The results have been terribly apparent in a variety of ways, and the great internal moral struggle of the future in America will be between the conception of life and its obligations upon which the nation was founded, and which still expresses all that is highest and worthy of respect in our national and domestic life on the one hand, and on the other, the blatant, vulgar and shallow conception of life's meaning which has been largely evolved during the last half century by those who had no part in the evolution of our national ideal.

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It is sad that most people, no matter how long they dwell in a foreign land, find it quite impossible to enter into really intimate touch with the best and deepest currents in the thought and life of its people. The best does not lie upon the surface anywhere, nor does it tend to display itself for the inspection of strangers. The homes where the highest ideals of family life and mutual obligation obtain are not inclined usually to spread before the eyes of those outside of them the things which next to religion they hold most worthy of reverence and respect. This is so in India and in every other land. In consequence the restless, pushing, assertive mass of mediocrity will deceive a foreigner, unless he be most wary, into thinking that he sees in it the embodiment of the spirit of the land in which he resides. In every land the homes which contain the greatest treasures of beauty in thought and life are rarely open to the foreigner, and even more rarely is he permitted to get a glimpse of the things which his hosts value most. This

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being the case, it is astonishing that so few people recognise the magnitude of the task they set themselves when they attempt to describe the characteristics and ideals of another race. Indians write about America and England, and Americans and Englishmen write about India or each other, and yet how little of what is written is really worth while! When even a great man like Rabindranath Tagore utterly failed, as his addresses in America clearly indicate, to get below the surface of things there, how can others hope to succeed?

Of Dr. Bose's article, I would repeat that there are doubtless great numbers of such men and women as he describes—especially in those sections of the country in which his work has lain, also that divorces and poverty of home life and its ideals will be found to be somewhat common in the class I have referred to above. On the other hand, I emphatically repudiate the idea that these things are characteristic of that great section of the American people who are themselves not only

the descendants of those who evolved the nation, but they whose inherited ideals from the mighty moral force which sustains and guides America whenever any great moral issue arises.

To give a concrete example showing how little Dr. Bose's description would apply with such, I would cite my own family. We have been settled near a great American city since its foundation nearly 240 years ago. During this period the ramifications of the family have been considerable and they have kept in more than usually close touch with each other. Consequently there are a great number of members from whose lives I can draw my inferences: among all these relations—hundreds of whom I know either personally or by report—there is not one single case of divorce. Among all my friends belonging to various families I cannot recall a single case of divorce, and only three cases where the man and wife lived separately. In one of these, the wife on account of her husband's cruelty was for the sake of her child to live apart from him, yet she

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never applied for a divorce and came back to nurse him in his last illness; in another case the wife, having been left without support by her husband, and being forced by his treatment to live separately, has been working for years to support herself and her children, yet she never has applied for a divorce.

Dr. Bose's article would seem to imply that an American girl marries with reference to what her husband can give her. The *true* American girl not only does *not* marry with reference to what her husband can give her; on the contrary, the thought of being his helpmate in his struggles and difficulties, and his companion and helper at all times, thrills her and is the inspiration of her life. It is true that some American husbands and wives live apart, but the fault usually lies with the man who is so absorbed in his business that he makes such a state of affairs inevitable. Here again, however, I have no hesitation in asserting that such men are the exception among true Americans. Among my own relations and acquaintances there are cases where

the interests of husband and wife lie apart, but in the *vast majority* of cases the husbands and wives find in each other's company their greatest happiness, and are never so much pleased as when together. In this connection I naturally think of the mutual absorption of my own parents in each other and their unwavering devotion extending over nearly forty years of married life—and this in spite of the fact that my father was a more than usually busy man of affairs.

I shall close with the life story of two girls in my own city. One is an old lady of over seventy now. When a young girl she was engaged to my father's elder-brother. He died about a week before the marriage. She decided that she would devote her life to his memory and since that time has lived in our family. Devoting herself to the care of those he loved, entering into their needs and cares. To this day she is never so happy as when she can sit and talk of him, and in her prayers and meditations the memory of him forms the largest part, and she looks forward to her

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death as the day when she will again be with him.

The other story is of an intimate friend of my own. He was a splendid fellow, a man of high education and a great athlete, and was engaged to a girl living near us. Shortly before their marriage he was stricken down with a terrible malady which made it certain that he would never be able to rise from his bed again, though he would probably live for years as a complete invalid. He was a man of no property, and immediately wished to set the girl free. She however insisted that she should be allowed to devote her life to him, begged to be permitted to become his wife, and finally having obtained her wish, supported both him and herself by the work of her hands, at the same time caring for him through all his lingering pain. I heard only last year of his death.

Space does not permit me to give more instances here, though from the immediate circle of my relations and friends, I could fill a dozen more sheets with examples of the

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devotion and loyalty of American women, and hundreds of thousands of Americans could do the same all over the country. Yet these are the very things of which one outside would not be apt to hear. We Americans do not as a rule speak about such things except with those we have known long and well.

It pains me to think that the people of India should gain a misleading impression of those whom American men have such just cause to revere.

May I add that I feel this the more, because of the deep respect and reverence which I have for the women of India, one of whom I am privileged to call my wife.

III

THE ROWLATT BILLS*

THOUGH there seems to be the greatest unanimity in European circles as to the soundness of the step which the Government is taking by the introduction of the First and Second Rowlatt Bills, I trust you will permit one who cannot see eye to eye with you in this matter, to give his reasons.

Sir William Vincent, in introducing the Second Bill, implied that if the Indian members of Council failed to vote in its favour it would be because of lack of "courage to do what is right" in the question. In the face of this attitude I consider that—for some of the members at least—a certain amount of courage was requisite in opposing them. Whether their position was a right one is a matter of opinion but we must admit that the record of several of them indicates that they would not have taken such a position unless

* *The Times of India* March 19, 1919.

they felt absolutely impelled to do so. What impelled them? Was it fear to voice their conviction of the value of the Bills in the face of the opposition of their Indian friends? Or was it the fear of helping to make law that which their experience of conditions in India told them might be the means of widespread injustice and hardship? Personally, I am convinced that the latter was their reason.

In the various criticisms put forward by political India and the indigenous press the opponents of the Bills seem to have made one mistake. Not that the arguments they deduced were wrong, for the procedure laid down undoubtedly savours more of the time of Henry VIII than of our own—a procedure which has always led to abuses—but because the Government was approaching the problem of sedition from an entirely pragmatic viewpoint. If, therefore, they were anxious to convince those responsible for peace and order in India that the Bills were subversive to public welfare they could have done so to better advantage by laying less stress upon

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the political principles involved, and more upon the way in which the passing of the Bills would work harm to the people they were intended to protect. This is undoubtedly the aspect to which the Government is giving most earnest attention.

The object of this letter is to criticise the Bills from the pragmatic rather than the idealistic point of view. It is sent to a leading English paper, because the European community seem to find no fault with the contemplated legislation. These Bills are adapted to produce admirable results when administered by omniscient officials—men whose unerring minds can probe the thoughts and intents of accused and accusers, men absolutely cognisant of all the factors involved in every situation. Unfortunately, the most able of officials are not so endowed, and would themselves be the first to admit it. On the contrary, there are few countries where judges labour under much great disadvantages in getting at the truth. Members of a foreign community, cut off by their position and the

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traditions of Anglo-India from intimate association with the common life and thought of the people, the officials are largely dependent for their information upon intermediaries for an inner knowledge of the people and their doings. And these intermediaries are in a very large number of cases wholly unworthy of such a trust. Cases are not unknown where a district magistrate would have been lost without his Sarishtadar, and where the latter was a man of more importance in the "zilla" than his chief. How often the trail of some subordinate police officer or constable has demonstrated that for years, while he had presumably been enjoying the confidence of his superiors, the man was battenning upon the sufferings and oppression of public. Who does not know that a vast number of the disputes between villagers, and the suits resulting from them, have been caused by the patwaris? Yet, these and their like are the channels through which all but the most exceptional officials must come in contact with the masses.

And there lies the rub. The procedure

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laid down in the Rowlatt Bills is an edged tool—quite unfitted to be administered by those who with the best of intentions, can only “see through a glass darkly”, when they seek to grasp the factors in any case dependent on the psychology and inner life of the people concerned. If any official reads this, he will upon reflection admit that, with possibly one or two exceptions, he knows next to nothing of the private lives and aspirations even of his own Indian subordinates. They are not interested to tell him ; he is not interested to know. In America they speak of a scheme as not being “fool-proof”. The trouble with these Bills is that they are not knave-proof.

There are roughly two ways in which they can work serious harm. The first is through the wonderful opportunity they offer to black-mailers. It is so simple to work up a case against a man in India. Witnesses are cheap and easy to obtain, and both within the police and without “badmashes” are to be found with an uncanny talent for working up

a case against a man. It is often hard enough to escape when the accused is fighting in the open—how much harder when he is in the dark. What a splendid opportunity for the black-mailers to go to some rich shop-keeper and quietly inform him that it has been proved he is mixed up in a seditious movement, that the case against him is completed and that unless he sees his way to make a large charitable contribution to a cause unspecified, the matter will be put in the hands of the authorities? This will be a safer and easier method of raising funds than the crude use of bombs and fire arms, and less easily detected, for the black-mailer is an adept at choosing his victim. Even if the unfortunate fellow believes that he will be able eventually to escape he will be much more inclined to pay up than have his name figure in such an investigation.

The second way in which the Bills would become the instrument of rascality is the open door they would afford for the gratification of grudges. Few men of any influence or

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means in India are without their enemies, and, sad to say, many of these—often apparently most respectable people—would not hesitate to lend themselves to any scheme which might injure the person they hated. It would not be sufficient to ask the accused to tell the names of his enemies, for, in every probability the witnesses would not be his enemies, but their friends or debtors or those who expected to obtain some benefit from those who put them forward—possibly men of whom the accused had never heard. They would have little to fear if properly coached, for they would not have to come out in the open. What a wonderful opportunity for the loser in a lawsuit to “get it back” at the man who had won his case ; Or, for the man upon whom a decree had been executed to cause injury to the person in favour of whom the decree had been given. If the victim were rich and had enemies his accuser would not lack confederates, especially as such laws would soon produce experts to profit by them. I cannot help feeling that in their anxiety to find a method of repress-

ing future anarchy the framers of these Bills have failed to take sufficient account of the complicated enmities and *zid* with which the life of India is riddled, and how often even under the ordinary laws they lend themselves to the most intricate suits in which number of men take part solely with the object of bringing monetary injury, or *badnam* upon the accused. Indeed, *zid* is an important element in quite as many cases in India as drink is in England or America. As an illustration, only two months ago a local shop-keeper quite innocently obtained at third or fourth hand a piece of cloth which had been originally stolen from some people living elsewhere. In the course of tracing it the police arrived. In spite of the fact that everyone knew that the shop-keeper was quite innocent, another person living near by was most keen to have him arrested. His idea seems to have been if he only has the handcuffs on, even for a few hours, it will be great *beizzati* (disgrace) for him. The man was one who had been prosecuted by the baniya and had a

decree executed on him. The baniya was greatly upset and was prepared to bribe the constable rather than be subjected to such treatment. The case is a quite ordinary one, but presents elements which illustrate ways in which the proposed legislation against sedition could be used by those inclined to take advantage of it for their own ends. Given the bribable police constable and the fear of the charge of sedition among people in whom a sense of insecurity had been introduced by the knowledge that they could be accused without knowing who were witnessing against them, and somebody is going to profit largely. The person to suffer either in his good name or his pocket will probably be the only one with innocent intent. It will usually be a pocket loss, for most Indians would prefer paying to to the risk of an investigation conducted under such unpromising conditions.

It is claimed that these Bills are to be instrumental in protecting people from violence on the part of seditionists and anarchists. My conviction is that instead of protecting them from one set of blackguards it will

deliver them into the clutches of another and far more numerous set. Also that through its instrumentality the already vast field of opportunity for petty oppression, bribe-taking and black-mail will be still further extended.

Such legislation may suppress the more violent manifestations of anarchy, but one questions if the cost is not too great. If, doing this, it at the same time furnishes the malcontents—and all lesser *badmashes*—with an easy means for black-mail and intimidation, and produces thereby a feeling of injury and insecurity among the masses it were better left unpassed.

After all there has been anarchy in other lands. The "Black Hand" and the "Mafia" were suppressed without such measures in Italy and America, in the former of which countries at least they were distinctly political. In Russia, on the other hand, with a far more efficient and drastic system of police espionage anarchy was never overcome. When all is said and done, at the moment the anarchists are not in evidence. This may be the result of the present sedition law or it may not. At any rate this law will be in operation until

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six months after the conclusion of the war, and if the same conditions should arise after it ceases to be in force, there will always be the opportunity of bringing the Bills up again.

So why the need of putting them through now? Why not wait to see what the conditions will be after the reforms pledged to the people have been brought in? If, at some-time, months or years hence, the position indicates that such measures are needed, there is little doubt that the Moderates at any rate will give them their support. They have had the courage to take their present stand against extremism. This and the past record of the men themselves is proof enough that they would not have taken their present stand against these Bills if they did not feel that they contain elements highly harmful to the country. And what official will not admit that they are more cognisant of the inner life of India than any foreigner can ever be? No sane person can question the good faith in which the Bills have been put forward : The only question is, will they do as much good as they may do harm, and if they will, is this the time for them ?

IV

THE SITUATION IN THE PUNJAB*

DUTY OF GOVERNMENT AND ENGLISHMEN

NOW that it has been deemed necessary to bring a number of districts in the Central Punjab under martial law, I hope you will be kind enough to publish the reflections to which certain official announcements together with a considerable number of articles and editorials in some of the Anglo-Indian newspapers give rise.

Whether there was justification for the manner in which the Punjab provincial Government handled the situation, or whether with a different handling, matters need have reached a climax where martial law was the only solution, it is impossible of course for those to judge who are not in possession of all the facts.

However, all must agree that the resulting situation is extremely serious, and that, unless the relations between the two races are to suffer a great change for the worse in future

* *The Leader*, April 23, 1919.

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years, it will be needful not only for Government but for non-official Englishmen as well to ponder deeply over all that they do and say for sometime to come. In the last few months certain editors of English papers in India have certainly failed to recognise their responsibility in this respect.

We are all conscious that this first year after the war is probably the most critical in the history of the world's development, and that the difficulties and problems which each Government must face and solve are so great and fraught with such danger that it behoves each individual to 'do his bit' by refraining from any act or word which would tend to complicate things.

It is sad to note that certain editors and others out here have seemed so utterly unconscious of their duty in this respect that they have done—and are doing—the Empire great, and, one fears, lasting harm.

Of course the present situation must be met firmly, and order must be established even if martial law is required to do it. At the same time, the writer very respectfully

begs both those interested with the administration of order and those who wield the pen, to remember that if the present situation is merely met by the restoration of order without the restoration of confidence and goodwill upon the part of the people, the problem of government in India will not have been solved.

Like the rest of mankind, the people of India have their faults, and on account of the ignorance and illiteracy of the masses any tendency towards lawlessness is extremely dangerous; at the same time it should be always remembered that they are an extremely sensitive people, and that in choosing the means to overcome disorder, the greatest care should be exercised in order not to wound their self-respect. If any of them are rebels, treat them as such, but treat them as rebel equals. It may be necessary to shoot some and to imprison some, as it has been in England, but for the sake of our future relations with them, do not talk of 'whipping' them. If the Government is to maintain that relationship with the people which will alone render its position possible

THE SITUATION IN THE PUNJAB

in the new era which is dawning upon the world, such methods must be absolutely tabooed. As one who knows India in a way that few Englishmen have known it, who has lived for many years in constant daily contact with the common people, and has known seditionists—Har Dayal among them—the writer would fail in his duty were he not earnestly to urge upon members of the Government and non-official Englishmen alike the vital importance of refraining from any action or expression of view which could be construed as implying contempt or a sense of racial superiority.

The editors of a number of papers during the last week have seemed to imply that this demonstration upon the part of the people is a proof of their unfitness for a larger share in the Government. One wonders if they realise that in taking this line they are 'doing their bit' towards alienating the sympathies of that section of the educated Indian public, the co-operation of which in the future must be one of the Government's most valuable assets.

Certain pledges of reform with the assurance of a larger share in the administration of the country have been made. Aside from the fact that our honour is involved in seeing that these pledges are speedily fulfilled, there is not the slightest doubt that a failure to fulfill them or an attempt to whittle down the expected Reforms would produce a situation of the utmost gravity.

It has been the fashion for many years to talk about the voiceless millions of India, and to decry the educated classes as a microscopic minority whose views are in no sense an expression of the views or needs of the masses. Whether this was so in the past is questionable, but it certainly is not so now. The bulk of educated Indians come from uneducated homes and are in no sense a class by themselves.

The change in the spirit of the times demands a complete change in the attitude of Anglo-India.

The next decade will show whether the moderates or the extremists of the world are

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to guide the destinies of the human race. Each of us has our share to contribute towards the decisions. So far as this land is concerned let us remember that British extremism will beget Indian extremism. By temperament India is inclined to moderation, and her best men at present are moderates. Let us not, by our inability to change with the times, drive them and the masses with them into the extremist camp.

Above all, at this present juncture it is to be hoped ;

(1) That those in authority will not alienate the peoples' respect and affection for the Government by resorting to such humiliating methods of restoring order as whipping. Such a course must inevitably result in an embitterment of feeling which years will not overcome.

(2). That Englishmen generally, and those who write for publication in particular, will not help to complicate the difficulty of the present situation by thoughtlessly saying things which help to widen the gulf between the two races

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and that above everything else, they will say nothing which would help to weaken the belief of educated India in the Government's determination to fulfill its pledges of reform.

A number of Governments have fallen during the last five years because they proved their inability to function according to the spirit of the times. It is for us to learn our lesson from them.

PUNJAB DOINGS OF 1919. *

IT seems to me that future good relations between the British and Indian subjects of H. M. the King-Emperor depend largely upon the position taken by the British and other Westerners in India towards the doings of last year in the Punjab.

If it is thought here that all Westerners openly or tacitly approved of the methods employed in this province, then the establishment of cordial relations will be out of the question. Again, if it is thought that the Anglo-Indian press is an expression of the attitude of all non-Indians, friendship is out of the question.

It is our duty to show that this is not so—that as the *Times of India* indicated, there are many who neither did nor do approve of the line taken in the Punjab—some even who felt very bitterly about it.

This is neither disloyalty to India nor to the Empire, for those who build for mutual

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understanding and appreciation upon the part of the East and West are convinced that 'my country, right or wrong', is an axiom which can only beget distrust and disgust. If there is to be real friendship there must be a real clearing of the atmosphere first, and no attempt to glaze over errors and wrongs by either race. There must be frankness with as little bitterness as possible; there must be a larger human element in our relations with each other and less confidence in the value of specious words and *post facto* explanations. Unless we can come to understand, appreciate and respect each other, the days of the British-Indian connection are numbered and no one who thinks can doubt that at this juncture the severance would be an appalling misfortune.

This being my conception of the factors involved, if England and India are to be of use to each other, I have thought it proper to publish the following letter written at the time of the martial law regime, but before any news of the doings at Amritsar—beyond the vaguest rumours—had reached me.

PUNJAB DOINGS

My object in publishing it is to show that not only now after the publication of Hunter Report, but from the beginning there has been non-Indian criticism of the methods employed in the Punjab.

I omit the first paragraphs as they deal with matters which are not of public interest.

THE LETTER.

Sir Michael Francis O'Dwyer,

G.C. I.E., K.C.S.I.,

Lieut-Governor, The Punjab; Lahore,

Your Honour,

I am writing partly as a result of the present attitude of the Anglo-Indian press and partly because of certain notifications connected with the administration of martial law—notably Order No. 30 which appeared in yesterday's paper.

Is it really intended to carry out the threat contained in that order? If defaced papers and pictures are found in some institutions, on account of the irresponsible action of a student, or (which is equally possible) on

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account of their secretion there by some disreputable member of the police force or other persons evilly disposed to it, will owners, professors and students be held alike responsible? If so, permit me to say with the deepest respect, that instead of such an action's adding to the prestige of the Sarkar, it will greatly impair it and much increase the already bitter resentment that is at present smouldering in the hearts of most self-respecting Indians.

‘Col. Johnston, Sir, may know a great deal about dealing with the primitive tribes of Bechuanaland, but that does not demonstrate that his methods will solve the problem here-

‘When rebellion breaks out* I quite understand that it must be dealt with firmly, that rebels must be imprisoned and on occasion shot, but I cannot feel that this harassing of the educated classess, this dealing of blow after blow to their self-respect, will result in anything but evil. After all these students will in a few years be leaders of opinion among their countrymen in the

* Of course at the time when this was written we knew very little of what actually had happened.

PUNJAB DOINGS

province. People call them a 'mycrosopic minority,' but when influence is considered the educated class is anything but that. Nor are they, as your Honour knows, a class by themselves, but come from every town and village in the Punjab. In the coming years their potential influence for good or evil will be enormous, and any method which in seeking to solve the present difficulty, sows the seed for future hatred certainly cannot be considered satisfactory. Tehy may be marched back and forth to report, made responsible for such action as that designated in Order 30, their cycles taken from them and leave to their homes refused, but the result will be that those who might have become friends will be secret enemies. They are being made to suffer in common and they will consider that it is for the Motherland, the Sarkar being the oppressor. Psychologically, I cannot conceive of a greater mistake. Pardon my plainness.

'With very few exceptions, if any, educated Indians—even the best of them—are feeling very bitter on these points. Those who

have always been moderates are finding it very hard to remain so. It will not add to the strength of the administration if it permanently alienates the sympathies and good wishes of this class. When all is said and done, the problem will not be solved merely by putting down the present disorder. Times have changed and the masses will—and do—take the attitude of their leaders. Unfortunately, they are apt to take that of the most extreme as the present trouble clearly indicates.

‘ I have, Sir, for years been in sympathy with the aspiration of the moderate nationalists, and have always had great hopes that this party would be built up by sympathy, and would solve the problem of Co-operation between Englishmen and Indians. But now I greatly fear that between the efforts of the Anglo-Indian press and such ill-advised methods as some of those at present in vogue with the administrators of martial law in Lahore, only a few of the sanest and more elderly men will be left to it.

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'The present methods will produce a reaction, and extremism will be not the less dangerous if it is repressed, and in consequence concealed. Every day is increasing it—whatever others may say to the contrary.

'No doubt the men deserved it who have been flogged, but it is considered by all Indians as a sign of the contempt of a race in power for the race they rule, and when the Anglo-Indian press announce it exultingly with comments upon the success of like treatment in dealing with the savages of Bechuanaland, the self-respect of all thinking India is deeply wounded. It may help at this juncture to repress disorder but underneath the surface, feeling every-where is one of deep resentment and shame. The good it may accomplish at the moment is in no proportion to the harm it will do in the end.

'In conclusion, I would venture to call your attention to the effusions of the Anglo-Indian press in Lahore and Allahabad. Such papers as the *C. and M. G.*, the *Pioneer* and the *Englishman* of Calcutta are doing

far more harm to the relations between Englishmen and Indians than the wild non-sense which has been perpetrated by some of the extremist sheets. These papers do not hesitate to accuse the Indian Government to 'political jobbery' and shriek and threaten if any of its actions do not appeal to them, seemingly oblivious of the difficult problem with which every Government is faced today—as for instance, the howl raised about the return of Germans from China and the granting of a certificate to Indian politicians. And now, when every effort should be made to induce a spirit of moderation, they openly insult Indians by exultingly alluding to the successful administration of 'doses of Dyer-mixture' and hint at the propriety of not proceeding with the Reforms question.

'Surely this is not the way to prepare for the future. Why are such things permitted? It can do no good, it will do all harm. Indians will not be coerced into good-will towards the Sarkar. Instead of ridding the country of sedition, the things I have

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referred to are ridding the English of many friends, actual and potential.

'I do not plead for a weak policy; order must be established and maintained by every necessary means. But surely the psychological aspect—the reaction of the methods in use upon the Indian temperament in relation to present political aspirations—should be more carefully taken into account.

'I am sure that the most certain method of changing the present attitude—or rather *the fact*, for it is fast going—of the leaders of Indian thought into one of hatred and hidden and bitter resentment, is to humiliate Indians in their own eyes.

'Pardon me this letter, but I could not keep silent. If I should write to the *C. and M. G.* or the *Pioneer*, I fear they would not publish my letter, their correspondence columns being too full of tirades against Indians and complaints about pay and passages, to give place for a plea with which they would have such little sympathy. If I sent it to an Indian paper it would merely add to the present

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complications and not fulfil my object which was to bring the matter to you.

‘Hoping that you will find the proper method for so guiding the activities of the agencies in question that they may do the least harm. ‘I beg to remain, Sir,

‘Your Honour’s most obedient and humble servant. S. E. STOKES.

‘Kotgarh, Dist. Simla, May 3, 1919.

In pursuance of the idea expressed in the last lines of the above letter, I have hitherto not published this letter, and until recently did not contemplate doing so. However, I have now come to the conclusion that the best service we can render India and the Empire is by showing that from the very first there has not been an unanimity of assent among Westerners in India as to the methods employed in the Punjab last year.

I received a very courteous reply from the Lt. Governor through his secretary, but it was one which showed that our view-point differed widely.

VI

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE "YELLOW PERIL" *

FIELD Marshall Sir Douglas Haig, in the course of a discussion of the political problems of the future and its perils, once expressed his conviction that certain changes were necessary in order that the British Empire might successfully weather the impending storms. One point in his address was of especial interest to India. He contended that a new spirit of comradeship must be infused into the relations of its various parts, and pointed out with soldierly directness that the only means of accomplishing this was by securing to every nation under the Imperial Aegis equal rights, privileges and responsibilities.

As far as one is able to appreciate his position from the summary available, it would appear to be this : The British Empire, both because of its geographical diffusion, and the

The Modern Review August, 1919.

wide racial diversities which exist within it, has only one hope of successfully solving the problems which will face it in the coming age. This hope lies in creating a state of affairs in which all the various nations in the Empire will recognise that they mutually and *equally* profit by the Imperial connection—a bond made strong by the appreciation of a common interest.

Sir Douglas Haig is not a “statesman” in the usually accepted sense of the word, yet how infinitely more statesmanlike is his clear-cut formula of equal rights for all within the Empire than the quibbles and political gymnastics in which so many so-called statesmen are indulging now-a-days.

The soldier speaks as a man and a gentleman, and in the outcome of this mental attitude we see true statesmanship exemplified. It is as though he said to those whom he was addressing, “The only one upon whom you can depend in times of emergency is a *comrade*, and no true comradeship is possible without true equality. Make those races of the Empire who at present suffer from disabi-

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lities friends indeed, and when the time of testing comes you will find them friends in need." What could be simpler, and, inspite of its simplicity, what could be more true? What firmer foundation can be laid for unity in the Empire than that which is laid in the recognition of a common advantage, a common responsibility, and common rights and privileges?

And yet how many of the statesmen of the day seem quite satisfied to build the foundations of future Imperialism upon the sand. In place of striving for that good-will among its various parts which can only be built upon the knowledge of fair-dealing and equal justice between nation and nation, they labour to bolster up the claims of unfair privilege and vested interest. Wholly lacking in political imagination and appreciation of the awakened spirit of the age, they cling to the old formulas and think that by a judicious use of camouflage people may be induced docilely to accept the shadow for the substance—the high-sounding effusions on benevolence and

good will which they consider a suitable substitute for Justice. The times have changed but such men seem quite incapable of changing with them.

Indeed, the attitude of some of them hardly seems to take the question of justice into account at all. To these the problem appears merely to be that of persuading the people to accept their point of view, and if they do not succeed in this to use sharper arguments followed by piously worded expressions of regret that such a course was forced upon them. The fact that they may be in the wrong does not seem to strike them. One must assume that their attitude is based upon the unshakable conviction of infallibility and that any opposition to their arrangements for managing the affairs of the world is a manifestation of darkness fighting against the light.

Some go further still, and frankly express their opinion that it will only be possible to *rule* by the occasional display of power and "the inculcation of a wholesome respect" for it grounded upon the part of the ruled in a

sad experience of its potentialities. They are right; the only way in which they can *rule*, as they conceive ruling, is by an occasional resort to terrorism. But thank God, the times are changed, and with them the attitude of the Government of the Empire as regards its relations with what were once looked upon merely as "subject peoples."

Typical of the attitude of these exponents of terrorism judiciously applied is the sentiment expressed by the Egyptian correspondent of the *Pioneer* in a recent issue, when he stated that the feeling among the nationalists there appeared to be one of discouragement and depression, and added that this was all to the good. One presumes that he felt that this state of mind would afford the proper atmosphere in which to build up a strong Empire!

What a contrast to this is the attitude of the present Secretary of State for India! Abused and scoffed at, called a "political charlatan," and his honesty impugned by the reactionary Anglo-Indian press, how firmly has he taken his stand upon what he considers

just and fair for India ; The present situation
reminds one vividly of certain lines from E.
B. Browning written many years ago—

A Great man (who was crowned one day)

Imagined a great Deed :

He shaped it out of cloud and clay,

He touched it finely, till the seed

Possessed the flower ; from heart and brain

He fed it with large thoughts humane

To help a People's need.

He brought it out into the sun—

They blessed it to his face ;

“ Oh great pure Deed, that hast undone

So many bad and base !

Oh generous Deed ! heroic Deed !

Come forth ! Be perfected ! Succeed !

Deliver by God's grace !

Then Sovereigns, Statesmen, north and south,

Rose up in wrath and fear,

And cried, protesting by one mouth,

“ What monster have we here ?

A great Deed at this hour of day ?

A great just Deed—and not for pay ?

Absurd :—or insincere !

There is no use to complete the above.
Times have changed since the lines were

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written, and we trust and believe that Mr. Montagu's "great deed" will not be too great for the age in which we live. If it is, then alas for the age!

As this paper has been headed. "Some Thoughts on the Yellow Peril" it will probably occur to the reader to question what relation the foregoing bears to that subject. In the writer's opinion a very intimate connection exists.

In the course of his speech Sir Douglas Haig expressed his fear of an eruption of the "yellow races" as a possibility of the future. He also spoke of other Oriental races as presenting potential perils if the discontent arising from unfair treatment and racial discrimination were allowed to grow. An Anglican Bishop also once expressed himself in England upon this so-called. "Yellow Peril," and in America its possibilities have been long a subject of discussion. In the opinion of the writer of the article the peril is a very real one. Given certain circumstances it would appear highly probable that the next hundred

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years may witness a struggle before the magnitude of which the recent war will assume insignificant proportions.

Yet it is hardly fair to call it the Yellow Peril. Thousands of years have elapsed without any attempt upon the part of the Far East to encroach upon the West. History furnishes no indications that military aggressiveness has been a part of the genius of China—or even of Japan until she came under the influence of the Western Spirit.

No ; if such a catastrophe ever takes place, it will be because the views of such bodies as, for example, the Indo-British Association, succeed in gaining sufficient power to mould the view-point and policy of Europe and America.

We are convinced that they never will—that they are the manifestations of a dying school of thought—or thoughtlessness,—and that a nobler, broader conception of national responsibility and obligation is even now displacing it. But they are, for all that, the expression of a mental attitude which has largely

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influenced the political attitude and actions of Europe in the past. Of this there can be no doubt. We might go even further and assert that even at this moment those in the West upon whom the broader and juster vision has dawned are a microscopic minority, howbeit an influential and growing one.

Let us examine as far as we may the mental attitude of the average Westerner, and see if what we find does not have a vital bearing upon the question of the so-called "Yellow Peril." In order to do so it will be needful for us to glance very briefly at the relations which existed between Europe and the Orient in ancient times.

In the days of Greek, and later, of Roman ascendancy in the West, the great nations of the Orient—especially India—were treated as equals. The learning of the Brahmans and "Gymnosophists" was highly spoken of, and in the days of Pliny India's trade with Europe brought her in nearly fifty million sesterces in coin per annum. Embassies were exchanged upon several occasions between

Rome and various Indian potentates, and the Emperor Trajan is reported by Dion Cassius to have entertained one such embassy with great magnificence, and to have given its members senators' seats at the theatre. There is also ample evidence that at one time there were Roman soldiers serving in the bodyguards of Indian Kings. The writings of Clement of Alexandria contain allusions to India based upon information obtained from his tutor Pantaneus who had been there, and not only he but Bardesanes and various others speak of certain aspects of Brahman philosophy and self-discipline with considerable respect, while there can be no doubt that the influence of Indian thought upon the development of Neoplatonism was very great. From all of which it seems clear that in the days of the glory of Greece and Rome the attitude of Europe to Asia was entirely different to that which was later evolved.

Then came the fall of the Roman Empire followed by the disintegration of society in Europe and what are known as "the dark-pages,"

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and for centuries direct communication between the West and India virtually came to an end.

At last came the Renaissance, and when Europe emerged from the chaos of the Middle Ages her attitude towards the rest of the world had entirely changed. In fact it was a different Europe with other ideals and political purposes from that upon which the curtain had fallen with the dissolution of Imperial Rome.

It has always been true that everywhere in the world each great nation has considered itself the greatest and noblest. But in addition, as far as one can gather as regards this period, the peoples of Western Europe hardly considered that other races had any rights at all. Such races were exploited ruthlessly in so far as the West found means to get in touch with them. Spain grew rich upon the gold extracted by murder, robbery and the torture of the unfortunate peoples of Mexico and Peru. Portugal, Holland, France, England and America all more or less stained their good

names in the years that followed—not only in the East and in the New World, but by heartless slave-raiding operations on the west coast of Africa. These facts are mentioned merely to indicate how utterly oblivious the nations of western Europe were to the rights of others when they emerged from their age-long isolation, and to draw attention to the fact that in many ways their attitude towards non-European nations was widely divergent from that of the Europe of two thousand years ago.

But—to be as brief as possible—from the Europe of the Renaissance thrilling with new life and aflame with new ambitions grew that overpowering industrial civilisation of the West which at present dominates the world. Of the latter it may be asserted that it is the one child of the former, and that, except in certain of its outward manifestations, its attitude towards the non-European races was very similar until the earlier part of the last century. As a result of changed conditions and the new needs which its development dictated this

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industrial civilisation no longer indulged in the bloody excesses and piracy which marked its precursor in the 15th and 17th centuries, but its methods clearly indicated that the viewpoint had not changed. Two salient characteristics of its attitude are especially worth attention. The first was its absolute conviction that everything Western was *per se* vastly superior to anything else to be found in the rest of the world. The second—and it was the corollary of the other—was its assumption that by reason of this infinite superiority “the great civilised nations of the West” were quite justified in annexing, governing and exploiting the rest of the world for their own advantage, and quite irrespective of the wishes of the people in the countries concerned.

If the writer is not mistaken this is the attitude of the average Westerner to-day, with certain reservations. He considers it beyond all dispute that the modern civilisation of Europe and America is infinitely superior to any other civilisation in the world. In

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fact, we might go further and assert that he would only concede the civilisation of any other race in so far as its system would fit in with his own. The mere fact that anyone was of his own stock would, in his opinion, entitle that individual to be considered civilised, while the civilisation of an Asiatic, no matter how cultured, he would quite unconsciously hold open to question. He would suspect him "of ways that are dark and tricks that are vain," and could never quite persuade himself of the possibility of an outsider's attaining to a civilisation equal to his own. And in all this his unexpressed conviction will be apparent that there is no true civilisation but his own. If the reader will consider for a moment he will perceive how fully this accounts for the attitude of the average Westerner to the people he comes in contact with in the East.

With the earlier phases of modern Western mental development it is not our purpose to deal now. The later ones are much in evidence in these days and most

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enlightening. In acts, more than in words, the West has claimed the right to subordinate the wishes and aspirations of the rest of the world to the exigencies of that form of civilisation which she has evolved for herself. There can be no doubt of this. In spite of the fact that she even now staggers torn and bleeding as a result of the peculiarities of her system, her confidence in it appears little shaken. What other conclusion can be drawn from the new system of mandatories she has just evolved? Does it not imply the conviction that she considers it her duty to guide the destinies of other races—races that do not appear likely to conform of themselves to the system she has evolved? Indeed, one hears much loose talk about her duty to them, and the various aspects of “the White-man’s Burden” are receiving a good deal of honest attention. Yet, down at the root of the matter is not the position of most people crudely this? “We, the enlightened nations, have evolved a superior form of civilisation based upon an orderly system of barter and

trade. Our programme includes the use of your raw materials which we consider vital to our welfare. We propose in exchange to sell you our manufactures, and if you are not yet sufficiently civilised to appreciate and desire them we shall take steps to make you so. If you consent to this and take no measures to protect your own industries at the expense of ours, we shall permit you to govern yourselves, provided always that no political exigency arises which would make it necessary for us to annex you. If this should ever become necessary, we shall of course confer upon you the blessings of education and what little share in the management, of your own affairs, your natural lack of ability and incapacity makes possible."

This seems to the writer to express the average view-point of the West, *at its best*, until comparatively recently. At its worst, it was merely a preamble to plant the flag of one's country upon the shore of any island or continent where the flag of no other powerful European country had been previously set up,

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and, quite irrespective of the wishes of its inhabitants, claim it as belonging to one's King.

During the early part of last century, however, a new spirit began to evince itself. Men began to understand that these many arbitrary acquisitions brought with them responsibilities to consider the welfare of the people upon whom they had forced their rule. At first there were only a few solitary voices raised on behalf of this new ideal, but with the years the vision grew until at the time of writing this the Imperial Government not only admits the right of the people of India to a present real share in the administration of their country, but also acknowledges that the time must come before long when Indians shall govern India within the Empire.

Yet, here arises a difficulty. To admit a right is one thing; to have the courage to grant it quite another. Not only as regards India but also as regards the whole question of the relations of the present dominant races to the rest of the world, two schools of thought are fighting desperately—the old and

the new. One represents the conviction of innate superiority involving the right to acquire and exploit without any reference to the desires and feelings of the exploited. The other—and so far as India is concerned Mr. Montagu seems to be its champion—represents the new spirit, and the one upon which the future welfare of the world must depend. It embodies the recognition of the right—not merely of every *Western* nation—but of *every* nation to what the late German Kaiser used to call “a place in the sun.” It represents the honest attempt to make realities of the cant phrases and party catch-words of the last century, and as it grows and develops it will come to include the recognition of the right of every race, whether great or small, to follow along orderly lines of progress its own destiny in accordance with its own desires and propensities. At present it has its limitations, but it carries within it the germ of mankind’s political and social salvation, because its conceptions are deep-rooted upon the eternal bed-rock of justice.

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The great question is—will it triumph at this juncture? Or, is it to be submerged by the older, grosser and more selfish conception? If it is, let the world beware. If the West decides to reject the new light—to still uphold its ancient claim of a right to annex, control and exploit the rest of mankind, irrespective of their wishes and feelings, a time will come when the nations of Europe and America will have to face, not only a *yellow* peril, but the peril of all the races whose feelings and rights they have outraged through the centuries. It will not be in our day; it may not even be in the days of our grand-children; but it will surely come. The rest of mankind will rise in indignation and with a might which justice gives the wronged, and ask "By what authority do you arrogate to yourselves the right to parcel us among yourselves, to force us into treaties against our wills drawn up to your gain and our loss? You have denied us the right of entry into your own countries while claiming the right of entire freedom to do what you like in ours. Not only have you

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refused in your own lands any of the privileges you have claimed for yourselves in ours, but even in the lands of our birth you have denied us the rights which are ours by every moral law. In what lies your justification when you force us to destroy our own systems of life and social economy so that we may adopt ourselves to your needs? We do not admit your right; we refuse in future to live at your dictation. Be gone! We will have no more of you."

We do not believe that such a situation will arise. We cannot believe that the old dark point of view will conquer. But if it does, and if as a result the world is plunged into such a sea of devastation and distress as it has never seen before, upon whom will the guilt lie? Surely not upon those races who, after suffering coercion and wrong for a long period of years, rise to defend themselves and to win that freedom which every true Englishman and American values more than life.

No; there is no "Yellow Peril," and if

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the West be true to its highest ideals, earnestly endeavouring to give the less powerful nation those rights and opportunities which it values for itself, such a peril will never arise.

But if the counsels of the reactionaries prevail, this Peril must always be taken into consideration and recognised as a potent factor of the future. Yet, in justice, it should be called not the "Yellow Peril, but the "White Peril," for those who inflict the wrong must be held responsible for the result.

VII

UNSATISFACTORY PEACE*

ALL Americans and Europeans do not think alike about the terms which we have offered and our enemies have been forced to accept. I would even go further and say with the *New Statesman*, from which you quoted some days ago, that the proposals find few defenders among responsible people.

We may rejoice—and do whole-heartedly—at the pact of peace, but many of the world's best men, including no small number of statesmen and men of weight, express themselves in terms of the strongest dissatisfaction as to the manner in which it has been secured.

In England this feeling has been expressed with no uncertain voice, while in America the feeling of vast numbers who have fought and worked for the Allied cause is that the conditions imposed betray the cause of permanent

The Leader July 10, 1919.

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peace. They say that the first of the fourteen points was 'no more secret diplomacy,' and that when, under the pressure of continental nations, this clause was abrogated at the Peace Conference, the way was opened for the entry of all the selfish national ambitions of the statesmen and politicians appointed to attend. Had everything been done in the open there would doubtless have been many difficulties, but the hands of those who had the interests of mankind at heart would have been strengthened by the support of the best public opinion of the world.

The best that can be said for the terms imposed is that they are merciful when considered in the light of what Germany intended to impose upon the world if she had been victorious, and that the punishment they inflict is in no way commensurate with the enormity of her offence against civilisation. Another underlying thought seems to be that only by such terms could she be rendered so weak as to cease to be a danger to the future peace of the world.

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To many minds, however, these arguments seem extremely weak. We can hope for no justification at the bar of history if we defend ourselves by the claim that the terms we offered were only less Hunnish than those of the Huns. We have proclaimed a higher standard for the last five years, and in not living up to it, we are judged 'out of our own mouth.'

Nor will the argument that 'Germany's punishment does not equal her crime' hold water. We did not claim that this was merely a punitive Conference, or one in which the Allies were to reimburse themselves for the losses they had sustained. On the contrary, its chief object was the institution of a peace that would give as great a guarantee of permanency as possible. This the peace terms fail to do since, as Mr. Morgenthau—America's former Ambassador to Turkey and an universally acknowledged authority on the Near East—said to an assembly of American soldiers at Coblenz, 'we have to prepare for a greater conflict because the manifold and conflicting demands of all the

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nations at the Conference are impossible of fulfilment'.

The argument that the terms will so weaken the German nation that they will cease to be a peril for generations to come is also futile. Her strength is indeed a peril, but far greater for the peace of the world is the universal hatred and dissatisfaction upon the continent of Europe that the present settlement will engender. Canker spots have been created which will grow into festering sores, and the atmosphere will not be one in which peace and good-will among the nations can thrive.

No, we must sadly admit that justice and the higher ideals have been sacrificed to expediency. Selfish international politics have again won a victory at the expense of the welfare of the world.

It is probably not generally known in this country that the feeling of dissatisfaction with the terms was so strong that a number of members of the American Peace Commission resigned as a protest. One of these—the commission's expert on Russian affairs—not only

handed in his resignation to Secretary Lansing but sent a letter to President Wilson stating his views in detail, which I give below:

'I am one of the millions who trusted implicitly in your leadership and believed that you would take nothing less than "a permanent peace" based on "unselfish, unbiased justice". But the Government has consented now to deliver the suffering peoples of the world to new oppressions, subjections and dismemberments—a new century of war.

'I can convince myself no longer that effective labour for a "new world-order" is possible as a servant of this Government. Russia the "acid test of good-will" for me, as for you, has not even been understood. Unjust decisions regarding Shantung, Tyrol, Thrace, Hungary, East Prussia, Danzig and the Sarre valley and the abandonment of the principle of Freedom of the Seas, make new international conflicts certain.

'It is my conviction that the present League of Nations will be powerless to prevent these wars, and the United States will be involved

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in them by obligation undertaken through the Covenant of the League and in a special understanding with France.

‘ Therefore, the duty of the Government of the United States to its own people and to mankind, is to refuse to sign this unjust treaty, refuse to guarantee its settlement by entering the League of Nations, and refuse to entangle the United States further by an understanding with France.

‘ That you persistently opposed most of the unjust settlements, that you accepted them only under great pressure is well-known. Nevertheless, it is my conviction that, if you had not made your fight behind closed doors you would have carried with you the public opinion of the world which was yours; you would have been able to resist the pressure, and might have established the “new international order,” based upon broad universal principles of right and justice of which you used to speak.

‘ I am sorry you did not fight our fights to the finish and that you had so little faith

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in the millions of men like myself in every nation who had faith in you.'

The above is the open letter of W. C. Bullitt of the United States Peace Commission, and there are millions to agree with him. We believe that both England and America opposed many of the settlements which eventually were incorporated in the peace terms. But we deplore the fact that they so bound themselves to the way of diplomacy 'behind closed doors,' that they deprived themselves of the moral support of the man-in-the street, in their conflict with the selfish aims and astute diplomatic methods of the many continental politicians who were present at the Conference to press the desires and ambitions of their respective countries rather than the higher good of the world. We believe that in a future and more enlightened age the makers of this peace will be found to have failed the world in its need, and that men will say that our leaders proved unworthy to utilise for the good of our race the greatest opportunity which God has ever granted any group of men.

VIII

CHURCH UNITY *

THROUGHOUT the world there is to be seen to-day a great movement in the direction of Ecclesiastical Unity. On the face of it, this effort would appear wholly to the good, and yet, it gives rise to a feeling of misgiving in many minds. In the first place, it is seeking an outward unity of form by which each of the main schools of ecclesiastical thought will be forced to make a compromise—a sacrifice of its conception of the spiritual significance of certain of its views. Either the Episcopate is what its adherents through the ages conceived it to be—the divinely appointed medium and channel through which the Catholic Church is meant by God to carry on Christ's work in the world, the "one Cathedral founded upon the rock by the word of the Lord" as St. Cyprian calls it—or, it is an office as much man-conceived as any other to be found among Christians and entitled to consi-

* *The Christian Patriot* Sept. 6, 1919.

deration only in so far as it proves itself a useful method of Church government.

No one who holds the first conception could be true to his conscience and at the same time consent to action which would admit into the Church those who looked upon the Bishop's office as merely administrative, and accepted it upon that basis—not because he believed in its especial divine sanction, but because by doing so he would be able to unite with the Episcopally governed Church. Surely, there is no value in an outward unity obtained by an ignoring upon the part of different schools of thought of the fundamentally diverse conceptions of the nature of the Church which they undoubtedly hold. It would be a Unity of the Letter at the expense of the Spirit. As one who for many years held the ancient conception of the Episcopate, and fully realises how it influences its adherent's attitude towards every aspect of Christian life, the writer feels very strongly upon this point. An important section of the Anglican Church feels thus, and

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to demand of them such a union as has been proposed would either force them to become untrue to their ideals or leave the Anglican fold.

No Church Unity upon an Episcopal basis will be a reality unless it springs from a Unity of Belief—at any rate an approximate one—as to the nature and necessity of the Episcopate. If part of the Church holds the ancient tradition, and the other part sees in the Episcopate only an institution which stands in the way of unity, and which must be accepted in some form or other if the outward unity is to be attained, where then lies the value of such a united church? Let us remember always that “it is the Spirit that giveth life.” If the Bishop’s ministrations mean one thing to me and another to my brother, if the Sacrament mean one thing to me and an absolutely different thing to him who partakes of them at my side, where then is that “Unity of the Spirit” in which alone is the “bond of their peace”? And without this what is unity.

The foregoing paragraphs deal merely

with the abstract question of unity between Episcopalians and non-Episcopalians, quite aside from its bearing upon the problems of Christ's Church in India. As regards the question however, we are faced by other, and for this land, more serious issues.

Religiously, as well as industrially and politically, India is faced by a great peril. The awakened East is at present in a state of flux; the West, on the other hand, has developed an insistent, highly organised form of industrial, political and religious life so dominating in its nature as to be quite overpowering. In certain directions the East must perforce accede to the demand for conformation made upon it by the West. In some ways this is all to the good; whether it will prove profitable in others is questionable, but it is inevitable none the less.

In certain departments, however, the writer is convinced that India must resist with all her power the tendency of the West to dominate her life and thought. Europe and America have not yet discovered a

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panacea for their own ills, much less for those of other nations.

It is impossible here to go fully into the reasons which have led the writer to the conclusions he has reached as regards the Indian Church and its development in the future. At the same time he would urge that, whether mistaken or not, they are the result of many years of close study, not only of the obvious difficulties, but of what one might call the psychological factors of the situation.

In the first place, it has to be pointed out that no Church can be expected to swallow whole the experience of another and yet thrive. The developed theology and ecclesiastical polity in the West is eminently its own—the outcome of its own spiritual and practical experience, gained in the course of nearly a score of centuries of meeting its own spiritual and administrative problems. The faith and practice evolved—in so far as it is true, and really Christian—expresses the reaction of the Western genius and temperament to the influence of the Holy Spirit, and to the circumstance

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and surroundings in the midst of which it developed. This being the case, that in it which is true and fine is suited to the needs of the nations who have evolved it.

In a sense, the Christian life of any race is a re-incarnation—a rebirth of its spiritual life on a higher plane. It affords not only a display of God's Light shining into the darkness and illuminating it, but of His Light shining upon each racial trait and glorifying it with a new and higher significance. A Christian Englishman, for example, is not merely a Christian man; he is an Englishman whose inherited racial characteristics have found their highest meaning and transfiguration in Christ. His Christian faith is the expression of his experience in Christ; his life and relations with his fellows, together with the rules that control them, are the result of his experience in applying the Light he has received to the conditions and needs of himself and those among whom he lives. That which he and his fellows have evolved by the communal application of these principles is the Church, dear to them as being

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their living expression of their common experience and that of their ancestors in all that is deepest and most precious in life.

And so it must be as regards all other races. Indeed, History would seem to teach that most of the Ecclesiastical miscarriages in various lands have directly resulted from ignoring this fact. Strange, how long it takes mankind to learn a simple lesson! Will we never learn what disasters this hunger for inter-racial uniformity has brought upon the world. It was over a desire for uniformity in tonsures and the date of Easter that the English Church came under a foreign yoke in spite of the opposition of the saintly Colmon of Lindisfarne. Surely, the thousand ensuing years of intellectual and political domination from without, followed by the inevitable break, should teach its lesson.

And, yet, it is an ignoring of this fact that at present endangers the life of the infant Indian Church. It is faced by a demand for conformity with a phase of ecclesiastical life which has played an important part in the

building up of Western Christianity. Is the need of the Episcopate as yet a need which the Indian Christian community has come to realise? Has its own experience, uninfluenced by the ideals of Westerners, led it to feel such a need? If not, do not admit it, for if the Indian Church is to attain to life which is "life indeed," it must live by the life and faith and discipline that blossoms *from within* and by the experience which it gains through its own transfiguration. It cannot thrive upon the spiritual experience of an alien race different in thought and temperament. It will not be supported, but shackled by the discipline evolved by other peoples to meet other needs. It must not seek to lay its foundations upon what others have learned, but upon Christ, the true foundation stone, and upon that it must build. It must grow in the light of what the Holy Spirit will show to *Christian India*—not by what has been shown to Christian Greece, or Rome, or England.

Just as the Christian experience of all individuals differs with their temperaments and

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upbringing, so in an even greater degree the Christian experience of races does and will differ. Christ is in India to save her from her own particular weaknesses, and to glorify and give an eternal significance to all in which she has potentialities of spiritual nobility. Therefore, it is the duty—the solemn imperative duty—of Christian Indians to accept from the West *nothing but Christ*, letting Him build here as he did there. As the word became flesh, and the child Jesus “grew in wisdom and stature”, so must Christ, through His Holy Spirit, become incarnate in the life of the Indian Church, and that Church must grow as the ancient Church grew, learning its own lessons, and “bringing out of its treasures things old and new.” The “new wine” of India’s awakening life in Christ must not be put in the old bottles which were made to hold the old wine of Western Christian development—bottles much torn and patched, and with which the West is far from satisfied.

For these reasons must the Indian church not only refuse to have its life and thought

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cast in the mould of the churches of the West, but it must refuse to let the West have any share in determining the form in which it is to evolve. The form of its organisation, the trend of its theology, the creeds, should be its own, growing from within it, as the Holy Spirit teaches it how to meet its own problems and define its own spiritual experiences. A Church's creed must be the statement of the belief it has acquired itself, or it is nothing.

For still another reason, the situation in the modern world makes the above line of action imperative if the Indian Church is to grow into a living, glorious Church. The influence and interference of the West must be avoided and guarded against in a way that would not be necessary if the West were less overpoweringly dominant than it is. As things stand to-day, an Indian Church in the formation of which Westerners have any part, will be directly or indirectly dominated by them. The writer would not undervalue the missionary effort of the West; to them is due under God the existence of the Christian commu-

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nity in India, and in this lies the justification for their work. But the time has come, or is soon coming, when this part of their work should end. What has hitherto been a blessing is fast becoming a peril. There are splendid exceptions among individual missionaries, but taken as a whole the mission system—in North India at any rate—is like a great benevolent octopus, whose tentacles cling close to every department of life in the infant church, preventing free movement, obstructing freedom of thought and initiative—a distrustful octopus too, whose racial self-confidence and organising ability exercise a deadening effect upon the spiritual life of those under its control. To the writer it would appear that though vast fields of useful service still lie before it in India in the departments of education and philanthropy, its mission to the Indian church is fast coming to an end.

So far as the scheme of linking the various fragments of the Christian community under the aegis of the Episcopate is concerned, let the Indian church mark well that if she

accepts this scheme she does not merely accept Episcopal Government but numberless limitations with which that office is dissolubly bound. She will have committed herself beyond all help to lines of thought and action, which she has had no opportunity to test independently with reference to their suitability to her needs.

The time will come when she may wish to enter the Episcopal Fold, and to link her life with the rest of Christendom, but God grant that she does not do it before her *own experience* points the way, or while she is so weak and undeveloped that her life will be swamped, her individuality obliterated, and her development dominated by the overpowering influence of the West. If she is ever to join herself to the Western system of discipline and thought, let it only be when she can do so as an equal—not only in name, but in reality—bringing with her spiritual treasures of her own which the churches of the West will recognise and value.

Another vital necessity : let her free herself from the influence and domination of

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Western financial help. Let her escape from the "Naukri*" system. While the Church is subsidised by the West, she can never grow into a free life of her own. This aspect of her difficulty is tending to grow worse—not better. The Westerners—especially the Americans, the writer speaks as one born in America—are prone to measure success by the size of their plants and the amount of money spent upon them. Even now, word comes of "Mission Drives" for vast sums to be collected and spent in further organisational activities.

It has been assumed by many that, when the Indian church has become what is called "self-supporting", she will take over and carry on the elaborate philanthropic organisation of missions in this land. If this is to be the case, the church will never be free. The writer may be in error, but his own feeling is that this enormous system should continue for years to be the distinctive contribution of Western Christianity to India—

* Cooly.

an activity quite apart from the life of the Indian church, professedly Western and financed and managed from the West. Finally, it should not be taken over, but *replaced*, by those forms of Christian service which the Indian church and the philanthropically minded non-Christian Indians evolve upon their own initiative and in accordance with their own traditions.

The time is certainly near—indeed it may have already come—when the Christian community will find itself forced to settle the direction of its development. Clear thinking and a definite ideal and purpose will be essential. Intellectual haziness is fatal in such matters. To be true to Christ in India, it must be true to India. It must not allow its thought and life to be dominated, or its liberty curtailed, by even the most devoted and well intentioned control of aliens.

Among non-Christians, the best Indians have a warm admiration for Christ. Many have much more than this and are only kept from becoming Christians by the form which

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the Christian development has taken here. They see a bureaucratic spirit fully as strong among the missionaries as that evinced in the relations between the Government and the people. They see all those indications of a sense of superiority upon the one part, and of inferiority upon the other, which the mission system has tended to develop so strongly, and their self-respect is outraged.

There is little enmity for our Lord. Can we imagine that the mad rabble in Amritsar burned the mission church because they thought of Christ or hated him? Surely not; reverence for *all* places of worship is a marked characteristic of this land. Led astray by misrepresentations and false rumours of what Government intended to do, they vented their anger, as an excited and ignorant mob would do, on everything they considered foreign. Here is one instance of the disadvantage under which an Indian Church will labour as long as she is dominated and controlled from without. She is not looked upon by other Indians as a part of India's life.

Until the church is free from outside control and outside interference, until it has divested itself of its foreign connection and—in North India at any rate—of its foreign guise, it will continue to labour under this vast disability which at present so impedes its power of bringing India to her Lord. In a country which is waking to national self-respect and patriotism, it will be looked upon as a foreign institution, its adherents as the hangers-on of a foreign system and the recipients of a foreign dole.

So, until the church is prepared to take the step that will free it, let it beware of how it entangles itself any further with the Western connection, or allows its form or the path of its development to be fixed through outside influence, or of efforts from within influenced by Western ideals.

India is not less worthy of Christ than were other lands in the days of the apostles. The Holy Spirit is still as capable of guiding the councils of Christ's children or it was in the days of the apostles, and no more dependent upon the assistance of men and money than

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then. The early church grew in wisdom and stature under that holy guidance—not under the constant distrustful guidance of leaders of another race imbued with a sense of their responsibility to guide, control and direct. Only in ancient Britain, at the time of the Roman occupation, do we see signs of an ancient Christian community which had adopted foreign customs along with its religion and lived a parasitic life, and that church died with the departure of the Romans from Britain. The later church—the church which has survived—grew through poverty, by the power of the Spirit, not through the support of outsiders. So must the body of Christ grow here—from within, not from without—if it is to possess the life and the joy of Christ, and be the means of winning this great land to Him.

It may well be that in a Christo Samaj, or some like organisation, the devoted, though so often misguided, efforts of the Christian West to win India for the Master will find their fulfilment and justification. But under whatever name or form the true Church of

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India comes into being, it must be free and truly Indian in guise, life and thought, or India as a whole will have none of it. The responsibility is a great and solemn one, for the fate of India's relation to Christ is in the hands of Christian Indians—not of missions and their agents. To them must He look for a Christian India, and to aid their efforts. The Holy Spirit is as ready and powerful as in the ancient day

IX

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA *

R. Manilal Parekh's two articles upon this subject are intensely interesting. With the facts of denationalisation, lack of colour, of life, of spirituality in large sections of the Christian community, the present writer agrees. Even with Mr. Parekh's conclusion as to the only remedy he feels impelled to agree also, if "come ye out and be ye separate" means for those who are true lovers of India and of the Lord Christ, that they should break for God's glory and India's good from the shackles of that great foreign system of thoughts and discipline which arrogates to itself the name of "The Indian Church."

Possibly, the writer misapprehends Mr. Parekh's position upon one point ; if so, he craves indulgence in advance for his error. Does Mr. Parekh mean that it is a defect in the Christian community that caste differences

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are not recognised, or does he mean that difference of position is ignored and that complete equality of social status is taught, resulting in a highly unpleasant attitude of self-assertion upon the part of converts from the lower classes towards those who are their social superiors by right of generations of education, culture, and self-respect. If the latter is his meaning one can appreciate it, and even sympathise—especially, as regards the astonishing lack of perception displayed by so many missionaries and other Europeans in this respect, together with the evils and complications resulting.

If, however, any would wish to perpetuate differences upon a basis of caste, rather than upon that of culture, refinement and education, one is inclined to trust that he will not carry the more thoughtful section either of Christians or Hindus with him. Surely the only basis upon which a family or individual can be considered to be upon a higher plane than another will be in the possession of finer traits of character, a nicer sense of honour, a higher intel-

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lectual and spiritual life, and a wider and deeper culture. Any other basis of differentiation—whether of caste, or wealth, or official position—is artificial, and as we grow towards the light, should be less and less able to win our allegiance and support.

One agrees with Mr. Parekh that the indiscriminate baptism of multitudes of ignorant outcastes has operated against Hindus of a higher social order accepting the Christian religion. But is it *merely* because they are outcastes? It is not true to the spirit of the noblest and truest in Hinduism. Valmiki, Tiruvalluvar, Ram Das, Kabir and a host of other saints and sages, are not the less revered because they were of low-caste. It is even held their glory, and it is the glory of India that this is so. Had the multitude of outcastes, whom the missionaries have swept into the Christian fold, come to the Lord Christ with the simple devotion exhibited by Sudama Bhagat when he went to Dwarkapuri, and subsequently evinced that indifference to worldly advantage displayed by him, can those

who know even a little of the heart of India doubt for a moment that the impression made upon spiritually-minded Indians would have been tremendous?

It would seem, rather, that the repelling feature of the transaction lay not so much in the fact that the converts were outcastes, as in the knowledge that these people had changed their religion without undergoing any spiritual experience which would justify such a step, and that their object in deserting the gods of their fathers, was material and worldly, rather than spiritual.

Obviously, they were not to blame; their ignorance and degradation are sufficient justification for their action. If they came "for the loaves and fishes" who will fail to sympathise with them in their desire to improve their condition? At the same time it cannot but repel a thoughtful man to feel that a large portion of the community with which he will have to cast in his lot if he feels impelled to accept a great spiritual truth, are themselves quite unconscious of that truth, and look

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upon the path which he has come to consider the way of salvation, as a way of gain and worldly aggrandisement. In this way, the reckless proletarianising of the Indian Christian body undoubtedly must repel those who feel the call of Christ and must hinder many from following Him.

This is but one of a number of factors at present operating to make it difficult for a self-respecting man to become a Christian in India.

And, yet, in considering Mr. Parekh's article it must be borne in mind that long before "proletarianising" began to take place, Hindus were disinclined to accept the religion of Christ as brought to them from the West. Indeed, it might almost be said that the attempt to bring about the so-called "mass-movement" among the outcastes was "a counsel of desperation" upon the part of the missionaries—the outcome of their lack of success in converting the higher types of Indian manhood to their doctrine and system.

The above would seem to indicate that the causes of the failure of Christianity to win

a place in the heart of India, as enumerated by Mr. Parekh, are more or less subsidiary, and that if we are to get at the real difficulty we must go deeper.

About this deeper ultimate cause, the writer ventures a suggestion. In order to do so, he must perforce touch upon his own personal experience, since arriving in India nearly sixteen years ago, and, in doing so, wish to beg the indulgence of his readers, and to ask them to remember that he is a Christian, and is writing as one.

He came to teach not only Christ, but Christianity in the garb in which he had received it from his fathers. He considered it axiomatic that the message he brought was the perfection of all truth—that anything beyond it was superfluous, that any truth taught by any other religion was better taught by his own, and that India in order to achieve her salvation had nothing to do beyond accepting that truth with regard to the Lord Christ, which the West had worked out for her under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

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In course of time he began to study the propagandist literature of missions, and soon came to the conclusion that if Christianity had been presented to him in such a manner he would himself have been unable to accept it.

As a consequence he decided to study the greater Upanishads, the Darsanas and Vedant Sutras, and also to steep himself in the atmosphere of the later Puranic literature which so largely influences the minds of the masses, with the object of being able to demonstrate to Indians how untrue to all experience, and unworthy of consideration, the whole Hindu attitude towards life was.

As regards his purpose for beginning this study, the result was distinctly unsatisfactory. Of course, he found much that was intellectually unacceptable, much that was demonstrably fallacious, as he would have found in the Scripture of his own or any other religious system. On the other hand, it began to dawn upon him, before many months had elapsed, that these works contained the intellectual efforts of those

who were seeking to grapple in the boldest and noblest manner with the deep problems of life, its meaning and its purpose.

Before long, he discovered to his astonishment that in attempting to solve some of these problems the ancient thinkers of India had often shown a finer spirit and a higher intellectual perception than the great minds of the early Church during the centuries when it was taking shape and evolving its creeds.

The writer made another, to him, most interesting discovery. He found that there were vast and important areas of thought and speculation upon the meaning of life with which the Church had never dealt, or with which it had dealt most unsatisfactorily. Upon turning to the Hindu Scriptures he found—not so much in the actual solutions arrived at, as in the general tendency of thought and method of approach—the key to much that the Christian Religion, as evolved in the West, has never attempted to explain, or about which its teachings have been frankly agnostic.

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As these new vistas opened out, it was a shock to discover how highly disconnected and fragmentary the religion taught by the West as Christianity really was, even at its best. As ordinarily taught in this land, it was worse than that—it was puerile. The Lord Christ has taught that if we desire to enter the Kingdom of Heaven we must become “as little children,” but this does not mean that we are to become *childish*, and a man would have to be that to accept much of what is taught here in the name of Christ.

However, and admitting the above, the greatest defects of Christianity as taught here at present appear to be negative rather than positive. It consists in an array of mighty life-giving truths, each of them developed one-sidedly, laying vast stress upon certain aspects of life and entirely oblivious to others equally important.

While the above view-point was taking possession of the writer, he found that it in no sense diminished his faith in Christ; on the contrary, the Lord shone with a new and

higher glory in the light of a clearer understanding of the significance of much that hitherto had lain hidden. The light from the Hindu scriptures had come to fill the gaps in Christianity as he had known it, and to make of it a connected whole.

This has been the writer's own experience. He came to teach and stayed to learn. He has found the idea at the back of the whole Hindu religious development of intense spiritual significance to his own spiritual progress, and has been deeply influenced by it. Yet, he is not less Christian—only more Hindu in his concept, and he humbly believes that, in being more Hindu in his outlook upon life, he is more Christian than he could otherwise have been.

You may ask the relation of all these to the Problem of Christianity in India. The answer is that individual experience lies very close to the solution of any spiritual or religious problem. In this case it has been, and is, most difficult to express, and the writer has re-written this paper four times in his

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attempts to do so. Even now he feels far from satisfied that it makes clear the truth he wishes to convey.

His conviction is this :—The missionaries came strong in the belief that they had everything to teach and nothing to learn. They came to make India Christian, and by *Christian* they meant that she should accept whole and entire the Christian system of the West, developed as the truth of Christ had reached upon the Western temperament. Their conception was that Christianity should *replace* the age-long religious development of India. This was their purpose, but unless the writer greatly errs, the Divine purpose was very different. It was the will of God that the truth of the Lord Christ should be brought to India to be completed and rounded out and made a perfect whole—a soul-satisfying and intellect-satisfying philosophy of life, its meaning and its purpose—by conjunction with what it lacked and the ancient treasure-house of Indian thought and spiritual experience contained. His conviction is further that, though in a great

variety of points the Indian spiritual ideal at its best has been both nobler and intellectually sounder than that of Christianity as developed in the West, it nevertheless needs Christ within it in order to realise the goal of its aspirations and the object of all its spiritual labours. All else, all ecclesiastical systems of discipline, all Western modes of thought, may go, but the future faith of mankind, whether it be called Hinduism or Christianity, must settle its relation to that stupendous Personality and the message He brings to the heart of man.

For India's sake and for Christ's sake—aye, and for the world's sake—the poor emasculated parody of what Indian Christianity might be, must go. In East or West, as Mr. Parekh says, there never was such a thing before. Whether it will simply die out, or waking to a higher ideal, break its bonds, and freed from outside money and outside control be born anew in self-respect and spirituality, no one can say.

One thing seems certain to the writer: When Christian Indians learn to be true to

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Christ by being themselves true to India, when the voice of the ancient saints of this land, and all the true wisdom of her sages, have their rightful place in their devotions, when it dawns upon their consciousness that all these came before the Lord-partakers in His purpose and preparing man's soul for his advent, and that their teachings are a priceless spiritual heritage—the Old Testament of Indian Christianity, when the Indian followers of Christ turn to the deepest and best in the spiritual life and thought of Hinduism to find the wherewithal to bridge the gaps in their faith we brought them from the West, and thereby learn to fashion it into a coherent and satisfying whole, *then* and *then only* will Christ find His true place in this land. Then only will the Indian Christian community cease to be denationalised and at the beck and call of foreigners, and its members will see that the Lord came not to destroy Hinduism but to fulfil.

Christianity and Hinduism need each other. The best in each is incomplete with-

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out the other. The truths of each remain but half truths without the light which each can shed upon the other. As men have learned to see with eyes unblinded by the age-old prejudices and preconceptions that shackle them to-day, they will come to understand that, when the divine synthesis has been affected, a true Christian will be able to call himself a Hindu, and a true and perfect Hindu will be able to say "I also am a Christian."

X

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA*

MR. Andrews's communication of Jan. 12 on the Nairobi convention in East Africa cannot but fill thinking people with alarm and disgust. Our only hope is that it is the expression of an abnormal state of mind resulting from the strain of the war, and not to be taken as the considered opinion of men in their senses. This is Mr. Andrews's opinion and we trust that his diagnosis of this extreme case of mental leucoderma is correct. But, if it is not—if the Empire accepts the position advanced by the Europeans in East Africa, and permits them to legislate as they propose to exclude Asiatics, and particularly Indians, from this land in which they have so long had a stake—then, no fitting comment upon its statecraft is compatible with deference to the Press Act. As the Greeks used to say. 'Whom the gods

* *The Leader* February, 20, 1920.

wish to punish, they first make mad.' At this time of day, a Great Empire, the majority of whose subjects are of races alien to that of its founders, can only hope to maintain its existence by the practice of strict justice and equity as between the different peoples that compose it. The sooner the white races of Europe and America learn that they have not got a lien upon everything in the world that pleases them, the better it will be for humanity.

In the past, no group of races have so wronged the African as have those of America and western Europe, and no matter how honest their intention may be now, it is shameless to talk as if the future welfare of Africa was their peculiar trust. And it is more shameless still of them to parade the name of Christianity to bolster up their claims, and more shame to the missionaries who supported them.

One believes in moderation and wishes to be a moderate, but it is not an easy task in the face of such displays. It is certain

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that the Imperial Government of India will do what it can to withstand the proposed measures, and it is to be hoped that the British Imperial Government will not yield out of weakness to the European demand in East Africa. But if it does, let it mark well that the bitter resentment and deep, if unspoken disgust, will be a tree of its own planting, and that no amount of fair words and plausible excuses will clear its name in this country or among fair-minded men.

XI

IMPLICATIONS OF HINDU-MAHOMEDAN UNITY*

IT is a too generally accepted position that there will always be communities, adhering to Hindu, Mahomedan and Christian religions, as these faiths are now held. But is it not an erroneous one? Have we not yet to learn that there is but One True Religion, and that it is yet in the making—that each of these systems of philosophy and faith has its quota to contribute to that One Ultimate Understanding of our relation with God and with each other? Surely, as these three at present exist—so divergent from each other in various ways—they cannot all be perfect visions of the Truth. Personally, I cannot feel that any one of them is that. And if mankind is to progress and grow away from the *Maya* which at present misleads and deludes it, the path must lead not only *through* but *beyond* these local phases of spiritual and intellectual

* The Indian Social Reformer March, 28, 1920.

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experience. Religions must tend to merge into each other as they draw nearer to the Truth which is One, and racialism must be lost in the recognition that the differences which we set up between man and man are illusions based upon pride, selfishness and ignorance, that we are not in reality many men or communities or races, but one *Purusha*—one multi-personal unity.

All these customs and conventions which separate us into different camps, are *not* little things. It is of such that life is made up at present, and these things violate that deep hunger of the soul for union with one's brother and with God. They hold us apart where love should and would draw us together. There may be *temporary* political and national unity of purpose and sympathy without true union in the things of common life, but it will only last if it leads to true unification. Eating and drinking together and inter-marriage, these are not little or superficial things, for of these, and the relationships which they imply, our mundane life—and, indeed, much of the nobler aspect of

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life—is made up. It does not outrage the law of love if a man prefers to eat alone, but it does outrage that law if he is ready to eat with one person and refuses to eat with another in every way his spiritual and social equal. Barriers set up between men of equal spirituality and refinement of life and feeling, which hold apart from participation in a common life those otherwise fitted to profit by coming together, obstruct the great unifying principle of God's love in the world through which we must grow together, and having become one which each other, grow to that higher salvation where MAN becomes one with God.

Eight years ago, I had the privilege of making an Indian lady my wife. The experience of these years lays upon me the duty of writing this letter, for they have been years of an ever-widening vision of the superficiality of man's conception about racial and communal differences. Fundamentally, mankind is One, and where Love is, there is neither East nor West, nor where love is will there be

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eventually Hindu, Mahomedan or Christian. Lack of love is the force which makes for *duality*, and duality is the fruit of *Maya*.

Our whole trouble lies in our having stopped short at being Hindus or Mahomedans or Christians. Not one of these religions will solve the problem of unity. There is—there can only be—one true religion, and in that we must ultimately find ourselves one. It has not yet dawned upon the world, but as, with the ever-increasing light of truth, men cast away their insularism and inherited prejudices, and as the great religious faiths in which the various sections of mankind are plodding onward, merge into one nobler and broader Way, our Faith will be one, and our Life and Hope and Purpose one.

There *are* differences now of faith and race and community, but they are the results of error and selfishness. We must admit that they exist, but we must try to overcome them—not compromise with them. They will only

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go gradually, but they must go, or the world will always be what it is now—a place of pride, disunion, oppression and trouble.

I notice at the top of your paper certain noble words of William Lloyd Garrison. Let me add to them, in closing, others of his, which seem to me to point the way for us as regards our proper relations with each other. "My country," said he, "is the world and my countrymen are my fellow-men." And if he had been an Indian, and living in India today, I feel that with an equal clearness and courage he would have said "and my community is the community of mankind."

Let me admit that differences exist, but let us not be content with them. Let us not rest until by universal consent the artificial barriers raised in darker ages of prejudice have been swept away. Then only shall we have the right to call all men our brothers, for, while we sanction these differences, we have no right to do so.

XII

THE VICEREGAL TRIP TO BAGHI*

AS I propose to strongly criticise many features connected with the trip of the Viceregal Party to Baghi in the Simal Hills, justice demands a few preliminary observations.

In the first place it should be pointed out that there are distinct indications that an effort was made to make it as little burdensome to the hill people along the route as possible. A larger number of mules were taken along to carry baggage etc. so that not more than 100 coolies were required at any stage for carrying load. An officer accompanied the party to pay for milk, grass and gram used, and so far as the Viceregal Party itself is concerned, we must absolve them from any suspicion of getting these articles without payment. Also, I gather from conversation with a large number of hill men in the areas affected, that the attitude of those in charge

* *Young India* October 13, 1920.

of the arrangements was on the whole less vexating and more courteous than in the past years.

In the second place, I desire to make it clear that I have no doubt his Excellency himself was entirely unconscious of the loss to the people that his trip has entailed, though I do not admit this ignorance to free him and other Government officials from responsibility.

The route of the Party ran through the States of Kennthal, Kumarsain, and Bushahar. The first and second stages were in the first of these states, and the rest of the time was spent at Narkanda and Baghi in Kumarsain and Bushahar respectively. At both these places the Viceroy was, I understand, the guest of the Chief in whose State the stage was situated.

In spite of the precautions taken, the loss to the poverty-stricken hill farmers which this visit has entailed is enormous as I shall presently show.

In these months—the most important of any in the year to the farmers of the upper

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hills—the rush of work is so great that every minute is of the most vital importance to them. This is the time for the autumn ploughing and of the sowing of the winter wheat and, barley. The fields must be got into condition, ploughed, then sowed with the second ploughing while there is still moisture enough in the earth for the seed to germinate properly. If there is too little moisture the seed will germinate and after coming up will wither before the growth of the second blade, or be eaten away by grasshoppers. If the moisture is still less the seed will be dormant in the earth until another rain comes, and springing up when it is too late for it to make proper growth, will be destroyed by the winter snows. Consequently, after having got the summer crops in, the whole of the farmers of the upper hills wait eagerly for the rain which, coming in the early autumn, makes possible the sowing of the wheat and barley crops, and as soon as it comes, they expend all their energy in getting the work completed before the moisture

has evaporated. So absolutely does this take up their time that the oxen have to be grazed by moon-light and at sunrise. The other members of the family are also hard at work gathering in their supply of grass for the winter when grazing is impossible. This must be largely completed before the frosts come, as after that it does not retain its strengthening qualities. Other important duties also press upon them, which may not be enumerated here, but which render each moment precious, at the stages where H. E. was, to them.

Such was the time which the Viceregal Party chose for its trip into the Hills, and the following were the results :

Rain had fallen ; the ground was in a condition to be worked and everyone was jubilant. The crops would be in and well up before winter, and there was consequently the prospect of plenty of wheat and barley in the spring. Then came the orders for the arrangements at the stages where H.E. was to stop.

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Kennthal, on account of the minority of its Chief, is still under the control of a Manager appointed by Government; so the people got off more lightly than further up the line. Yet, here also one man from each house, throughout the whole community along the line from Fagu to Mathiana, was set to work getting grass and wood. Every one had to contribute milk, and a large number of the best cows were requisitioned and kept at the stages for the use of those connected with the expedition. At one of the stages, I was informed there were 25, and at another 18 cows, in addition to the milk which the farmers were required to furnish from their houses. One of the hill men, whom I met carrying a load of wood, told me with tears in his eyes that he had been detained for about eight days when the party was about to reach Mathiana, and expected to lose another five days in preparation for their return. "*Sahib,*" he said, "*I am the only one in my house who can plough and now my fields are lying fallow—not*

even the first ploughing is completed. The ground has dried up while I have been detained here, and unless by God's mercy we have another rain, it means starvation for us next spring." I asked him if he was getting any pay for his services, and he said. "*No, it was kar.*" This question I put to at least thirty men along the route from Narkanda to Fague and was assured by all of them that though the Sahib had given pay for grass, milk, etc., not a pice of the money received was coming to them. I heard also of numerous cases where the ploughing and sowing had come to a stand-still.

In Kamarsain the same conditions prevailed, but the demands on the time and services of the people were greater and a heavy fine was exacted from those families which would not send a man. About 300 farmers were kept away from their fields at Narkanda to ensure the comfort of the Party from Simla.

I was not personally at Baghi but have made careful inquiries from people connected

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with the arrangements. Apparently, one man from each house in the Tahsils of Rampur and Rohru had to be present there to minister to the Viceregal Party. I gather that at this place nearly 2000 farmers were kept from their work. The report is that 100 cows of the farmers, and a like number of buffaloes, were stationed there during the visit. The latter of course belonging to the *Gujars* and were probably being paid for, but the farmers were receiving no compensation for the time lost, or articles supplied, and the complaints were deep and bitter. One ignorant farmer said to me *Kya karen? Sarkar kana dharm rahana daya.*" The people, though too down-trodden to voice their sufferings, are still capable of bitterness.

It may be said that in all this the fault does not lie with Government but with the heads of the States in which these abuses took place. I utterly deny it. It is the fault of Government and of no one else. The Hill States are not enlightened States. It was quite natural with their undeveloped sense of

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responsibility in such matters, that they should sacrifice their people to what they considered to be the claims of hospitality. Has not history in India justified them in thinking that the surest way to favour and advancement lies along just such lines as these? The responsibility in these protected and superintended Hill States is Government's beyond all doubt. The last word in all matters is that of the Superintendent of the Hill State and the Punjab Government. If they say they have no right to interfere to protect the people of these States from such excesses, then they have no right to draw tribute from the States, for this comes from the pockets of the people.

If Government officials say, that with so much dishonesty among petty office holders they cannot control it, my reply is that this is not true. They can control it to a great degree. If I were the Superintendent, Hill States, I could control it, if I were left on my job for a few years instead of a few months, and were allowed to do my duty to

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the district instead of being made the Head Mate of Simla. So could any one else who felt his responsibility and has the interests of the people at heart. The Indian Civil Service is one of the most highly paid in the world. If they cannot show such a common order of efficiency they are not worth the pay they are drawing. Also they are civil *servants*. If they are not the servants of the people, instruments of their prosperity, then they are of no use in India. The peasants of the hills do not exist to forward the ease and comfort of H. E. or any other officials high or low.

The system of *kar* and *begar* in the hills, so far as it applies to pleasure-seekers and others than officials administering the District, must go, and go at once. It is that which is responsible for the thousands of poor people being forced to minister to the comforts and pleasures of those to whom their interest have been entrusted, at the cost of their own distress and loss.

I desire to impress upon the Government that if in this matter they do not do what

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they have long acknowledged to be pure justice, the way will be found to bring this evil system of Begar, for non-officials, and for officials not on duty, to an end. It will be done constitutionally and there will be little more delay.

XII

BEGAR IN THE HILLS*

Origin: After the expulsion of the invading Gurkhas at the request of the hill peoples and their chiefs in 1814, the British-Indian Government—then the East India Company—became the suzerain power, and superintendence of the affairs in the petty hill states became necessary. For this purpose the authorities availed themselves of the then existing system of *begar* and of *kar* or *atwara*.

Definition: We should understand what this was, before we can attempt to understand the present development of it. *Begar* was the system by which the transportation of each state was carried on. It was not from stage to stage, as at present, but from village to village. State materials and luggage were carried from one village to the next until they reached their destination. Though unpaid, this system

* *The Eastern Mail*.

entailed little hardship, not only because there was not much to carry by reason of the very simplicity of administration, but because only the *begar* of the state and its officials was carried. The right of outsiders passing through the state to the use of *begar* would not have been admitted for a moment. *Kar* or *atwara* was free service demanded by the state and given without question by the people. It included service given at the court of the chief by men of the various parganas of the state in rotation, and that rendered to the chief and the officials of the state when on tour in it. It was a system which did, and does, leave room for great abuse of power.

Lastly, *rast* or *rasad* was the custom which gave the officials of the state the right to free provisions when on tour in the villages. All these rights are still maintained by the Chiefs of the Hill States, though they too have undergone some change as a result of contact with the British theory of administration.

Later development of *begar* by the British: When considering this we must bear

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in mind that State *atwara begar* still continues for state purposes, and that the forms of *begar* which we are objecting to now, are an *additional* obligation which has been imposed since the advent of the British.

Had the use of *begar* and *atwara* been confined to administrative officials on duty in the Hills, it is improbable that it would have been felt as much of a hardship by the people in the early days, but the right was soon abused. With the completion of the Simla-Thibet Road and the growth of Simla, officials and non-officials began to go for tramps and sport in the interior. They were permitted to make use of the *begar* (forced labour) of the hill men on condition that they paid them. Englishmen settled in the hills, and they too were given the same privilege. Then a fine line of *dak* bungalows was erected, staffs of servants were kept at each, and the summer visitors from rapidly growing Simla were thus encouraged to seek sport and pleasure in the interior. The work of carrying the luggage of the multitudes of trippers was assigned to the

hill men, the coolies for each stage being drawn from the parganas situated near it.

Then the work of the Public Works and Forest Departments developed in the hills. Materials for various rest houses and other conveniences were required in the far interior, and for them also the forced labour of the hill men along the road was requisitioned. Later the Forest Department, which hitherto had been devoting itself to conservation, developed ambitious plans to become a Government Lumber Company, and these plans, in addition to other hardships, entailed a still further extension of the use of forced labour. Not only did these two departments require the cheap *begar* coolies for carrying up the iron sheets, coal tar, and other material they required for themselves, but they obtained permits for their contractors to make use of them. The last time I went to Simla, I saw a long line of *begar* coolies carrying up iron-roof sheets for the Forest Department. Then with the growth of traffic in the hills the original allowance of paid

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mail-runners connected with the Postal Department proved insufficient to carry the growing posts, and rather than engage more, the Department applied for *begar* coolies to carry the post-bags. These were granted and during the season a score or more hill men had to serve the Postal Department daily as coolies. All this forced labour was exacted quite without reference to the exigencies of the farmer's life, and most of the burden fell at times when it was imperative for the men to be in their fields. So much for the abuse of *begar* during British suzerainty.

The abuses did not stop with *begar*. Let us consider what was evolved from the custom of *kar*, or free service of the state other than *begar*. These must be considered under two heads—compulsory free service given in connection with the *dak* bungalows and the same given to administrative officials on tour in the Simla district.

Though the tripper pays for everything he receives at the bungalow, the hill man is not paid for all the service he renders him. At

each stage is a "mate" to whom is entrusted the making of all arrangements for the comfort of travellers. The position of mate is put up each year to auction and goes to the highest bidder. This is done by the state, upon which the onus of arranging for such matters in respect to the stages lying within its borders, has been laid by the Government. The office of mate is bidden in for as much as eight hundred rupees at a stage. The money is paid to the Durbar, which in return gives the mate authority to use the free services at the stage of a certain number of men from the parganas assigned to the service of the particular bungalow. The number at the various stages runs from eight to twenty and the villagers take their turn in rotation. During the time they are required to be present they must bring their own Provisions and live at their own expense. If the mate has no other use for them, they may carry loads part of the time and thus receive pay, but during the season they are mostly engaged in bringing in loads of wood and grass, and doing the

thousand and one things connected with the running of a busy stage. For this, as I have said, they not only receive nothing, but out of their poverty must furnish their own food also. Slaves are fed and clothed by their masters, but the poverty-stricken hill people must labour against their will, and at their own expense, that the trippers from Simla may be comfortable. In addition to this, every family in the parganas attached to the various stages must bring four to six maunds of cut wood to the mate yearly; for this no payment is made. It will thus be seen that in order that travelling in the hills—a vast proportion of which is done by people having no connection with the administration of the district—may be done with comfort and pleasure, the chiefs of the hill states are encouraged to form out the free services of their subjects to mates. So much for free service connected with the *dak* bungalows. There are other terrible abuses connected with the destruction of the oak groves, upon which the mountaineers have depended from times immemorial for the

winter forage of their goats and sheep, and which are now being cut, because travellers prefer oak fires, also with the daily increasing encroachments of the Forest Department upon the rights of the people, but I cannot go into them now. Suffice it to say that, because they are too ignorant and inarticulate to defend themselves, the people of the hills are being exploited and wronged in every direction. I should be delighted if some one in authority would challenge this statement.

Let us now turn to the *kar* and *rasad* given to administrative officials on tour. Things were better this year, but our hill men say that when the Deputy Commissioner or Political officer goes on tour, every one with them expects to be treated as a Deputy Commissioner also. The best cows are collected at the stage (without payment to the owners) that they may all have plenty of milk, the various states along the road are expected to supply ponies that they may all ride. These also are not paid for. Those whose cows are not taken must supply milk free, those

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who have good beds must bring them, and a levy is even made upon private pots and cooking vessels. Of course, wood and grass brought for administrative officers are not paid for. One man from each house in the *ilaka* is expected to be present for *kar*—or was—until this year. I speak of Kotgarh, for I know it best and it is in British territory, but I think I can safely say that it is still worse at the stages in the states. I can give even more particular details but prefer not to do so at present. Of course, it must be understood that much of this goes on without the consent of the officer himself, yet ignorance is not a justification, or could be pleaded as such anywhere but in India. Surely a service that cannot defend the people from the oppression of its subordinates must have something the matter with it.

It will thus be seen that with the growth of Simla and the opening up of the interior the hill man has gradually been relegated to the position of a beast of burden and a helot. Not only are his rights as a free man denied

him, and his work seriously interfered with, but the relation in which he stands to those who can force him to give them service is demoralising in the extreme both to him and to them. He is often cursed, sometimes beaten, his interests always ignored. During this month, I understand that there has been a bad case of beating by one of the subordinate officials of the Forest Department. The coolie arrived late, and I understand that he has not yet recovered from the injuries resulting from his fault. And yet, we should not be too indignant with the person who beat him; without an occasional use of the stick this system cannot be worked. That is the horrible feature of it; being founded upon injustice, it can only be maintained by resorting once in a while to such injustice and oppression. That is the very reason why it must go. When men are forced to work, unjustly and against their own interests, for the convenience or profit of others, the only means of making them do so is the stick or its equivalent.

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Yet to abolish it is no easy matter. Even if the district authorities were anxious to do so, there are various factors that would lead them to hesitate. It must be remembered how gradually the evil has grown to its present proportions, and how closely the trip to Narkanda or Baghi has become linked with the life of Simla. Most of the important people, and a large and increasing number of lesser folk, look forward to making the trip every year. An officer who should sum up the courage to put an end to the system would render himself one of the most unpopular men in Simla. As will be seen later, the present Deputy Commissioner of Simla has taken a position which we should not fail to appreciate in this matter. I shall now try to explain what has been done towards bringing about the end of the system.

Although all hill men felt that something must be done, and at once, no community was in a position to move except that at the Kotgarh stage. Kotgarh was expected to take the first step, both because the people there

were more educated, and because Kotgarh is a bit of British territory wedged in among the States, and therefore faced with less complications in taking its stand than the States where a double authority made the situation more complex. Moreover, in Kotgarh there were several men of sufficient public spirit to really exert themselves in bringing about a better state of affairs, among whom Lala Bishan Das should be especially noted. His activity in this matter is especially commendable because, having himself a *sanad* of exemption from *begar*, he had nothing to gain personally by the ending of the system.

As a result of some consultations these men formed themselves into a sort of informal Vigilance Committee, and set to work studying how the thing could be remedied. The first step decided upon was to work for the doubling of the wages of *begar* coolies, and a representation was drawn up fully explaining the need for such action. Col. Elliott was at the time Superintendent of Hill States and proved entirely sympathetic to this action.

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As a result, after a little less than two years' delay, the coolie rates through the hills were doubled.

This was highly satisfactory as far as it went, but the main difficulty was not as yet touched. The workers at Kotgarh felt that the whole system must go, except for the present in the case of officials administering the district, and that even in their case the principle must be recognised that no permanent right to such *begar* existed. If this were done, they were prepared to see that it continued until other modes of transport had proved practical.

With this object in view, and after a very thorough consultation with the farmers of the Ilaka, a long representation was drawn up and signed by all those suffering under the disabilities of the *begar* system. It contained a detailed statement of the various hardships suffered by the people, and with it a very courteously worded intimation that after a certain date—put four months from the date of despatch that the Government might have

time to make other arrangements—the people of Kotgarh would discontinue to give *begar* for the following classes :

- (1) Private persons, and such officials as were not travelling *on duty* in the Ilaqa.
- (2) The Postal Department.
- (3) The Forest and Public Works Departments, for the carriage of materials, either for their own use or for that of their contractors.

At the same time they stated their willingness to continue giving *begar* to administrative officers *on duty* until it had proved practical to do without it, provided a list of such officials be published and posted where the public might have reference to it. Beyond this no *begar* would be given unless Government could demonstrate its right to such forced labour in a court of law.

It was further urged that in future *kar* given to administrative officials should be paid for at the same rate as *begar*, in order that large numbers of men should not be

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called uselessly away from their work, the idea being that if the services of every one called had to be remunerated, only as many men would be called as were actually required. The request was also made that in future definite orders should be issued, and placed where every one could see them that all grass, wood, and milk should be paid for, and that the payment should be made direct to the farmers rather than through the hands of the mates or lumberdars.

As a result of this representation an official was sent up to talk things over with the people. In the main he was sympathetic but seemed inclined to a policy of compromise by which certain features of the *begar* would be removed and others retained. This was not satisfactory to those who had taken the matter up, as the plan suggested left loop-holes at many points through which at a later date the evil might again develope.

Further consultations with the people resulted and it was decided to stand for the whole position as first put forth in the

representation. The people were prepared to stand together in this, no matter what sacrifice their action might entail, and to furnish all funds that might be needed to defend any one of their number against whom action might be taken for failure to comply with the present demands. Several of the villagers even went so far as to register their oath to do this in the temple of their local god, and others have since sent word that they are ready to do the same whenever their leaders may desire it.

Last month the Superintendent of Hill States, Mr. A. Langley, came up to study the situation. We found him a more than usually sympathetic official and were much pleased with the attitude he displayed. As a result of his visit, the *begar* for the Postal Department is being ended all along the line, and he has requested us to continue the rest until the first of March, before which time he hopes to be able to get other arrangements on foot along the road. The people have gladly complied with this request fully believing that he will do so. Of course, if he finds that he is

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unable to accomplish what he has proposed to us, we will cease giving the form of *begar* above referred to on 1st March.

The consultation with Mr. Langley was greatly assisted by the presence and experience of Mr. C.F. Andrews, who with his usual interest in all who are oppressed, had written offering to help us. Needless to say that offer had been accepted: and the knowledge that he was interesting himself in the situation was a source of the greatest encouragement to every one.

The purpose of the men in Kotgarh who have taken up the *begar* question is to work until not only that, but all the other disabilities of the hill tribes have been removed, whether they be in Kotgarh or in the surrounding States. They are convinced that in solving these problems for the Simla district, they are helping in a very practical manner to solve them for all the hill districts of India.

XIV

A SKIT*

A perusal of recent articles in English, French and American papers and magazines indicates that a certain class of writers, impractical idealists, of course—like Romain Rolland, Mr. Morgenthau, the Bishop of Oxford and Mr. Andrews, seem dissatisfied with the attitude of the Allies towards the Central Powers and towards the rest of the world generally. In fact their visionary idealism seems so far to have carried them away as to suggest that they do not think we have lived up to our humanitarian principles as freely enunciated in all quarters by us during the last five or six years. One is shocked to find that they are even pessimistic about the situation and think that we have shown ourselves not much better than the rest of mankind. Some of them go so far as to imply that each of us is "out for what he can get" and that all we do is not prompted by our

* The Leader 5th October, 1920.

unselfish love for humanity. It would seem vital that the Press—which is always the champion of the right—should do what lies in its power to correct these extravagant views. I venture to suggest that with a view to counteracting such unhealthy tendencies, the Editorial Column should be from time to time utilised for laying stress upon the brighter side of the picture, and that Editors use their talents in demonstrating that in spite of minor discrepancies between the Peace dictated and the famous 14 Points (oversights of this nature are of course bound to occur occasionally) and despite the fact that certain other promises have been fulfilled in a rather curious manner, there is really much in the present situation to encourage us in the conviction that the human race is indeed slowly rising towards a higher moral plain, and becoming more worthy of its great birth-right.

For example, stress might be laid upon the fact that whereas in the good old days no one organising a “free company” to devastate France, or a piratical expedition against the Spaniards, or a military one to conquer and

annex a weak neighbour, had ever to justify himself before the tribunal of public conscience, conditions have changed in this respect immensely for the better. Why in those days all one had to shout was, "Ho for the Spanish Main" and every lad was itching to be off and loot the treasure laden gallions of the swarthy foreigners. Or, when it was proposed to sail in search of new worlds to conquer, did anyone ever think of questioning our moral right to do it? They just sailed away until they found some place where no other power of superior strength had got before them, and without bothering the inhabitants as to whether they liked it or not, set up their flag and proclaimed the land their country's by right of conquest or discovery.

Those were indeed dark days; the question of human rights other than their own never entered the heads of our early forefathers. Surely it is a matter for the greatest self-congratulation that a change has taken place in the above respects. A contemplation

of this point should fill us with faith in the moral growth of mankind (excepting of course that of our recent foes). We are bound to admit that, as a nation, we still do sometimes want things that do not belong to us, but at the same time let us remember that we can no longer simply walk over and take them without first justifying ourselves before the Tribunal of Public Conscience. The common people must first be convinced that their government is acting in consonance with the highest moral standards—that it has at heart the truest interests of the people against whom it proposes to take action, or that it is acting from some equally worthy motive.

It must be admitted that this is difficult at times—that such a necessity makes the task of our statesmen more complicated. Indeed, were it not for the saving factor that up to now people have generally been anxious to assist their leaders in the task of convincing them of the righteousness of any course which ministered to national pride, one really does not know how the leaders would have

borne up the burden. Yet, in spite of the help which they have always received from the public in this respect, there is no denying the reality of the strain upon them. The people want *comforting* arguments even if they are content with poor ones. And there lies the rub ; there are cases where even poor arguments are hard to find, and even those most anxious to be convinced at times find the arguments demonstrating the unselfishness and morality of political acts unconvincing. Moral camouflage will occasionally ease the situation, but not always, and we should feel the deepest sympathy with the pillars of our state in the trials which beset them. Consider poor Lloyd George trying to prove that the Empire has kept its pledges about Constantinople, or those upon whose devoted heads has fallen the burden of demonstrating that the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor are being treated with justice in South and East Africa, or the mouth-pieces of the British Imperial Government in their courageous attempt to demonstrate that a great Imperial Democracy

can be built up and maintained consistently with a "White Australian" policy, and with a large proportion of the people which compose it, subject to political disabilities on account of their colour. Alas, though we may weep with them in their troubles, we can see no way to help them. In truth what is needed is a prophet for this new dispensation—a mighty genius who can demonstrate to the satisfaction of the world that when we of the west want a thing, we really ought to have it. If such an one should arise at this juncture what a boon his advent would be to the harrassed pilots of the Imperial Arch. If only an intellectual Napoleon would arise to convince us that in the new scheme for "mandatories" we were not attempting to do what we had contemplated in our unregenerate days by secret treaty, and that in our dealings with China and Persia and Egypt we were actuated by altruistic motives, what a welcome we should give him! Above all, if he could only rebuke our non-European brethren with trust in our unselfishness and the disinteres-

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tedness of our motives, and create in them a spirit of reasonableness whereby they would cease to take our pledges literally and expect us to live up to the principles we have enunciated, how we should bless him !

Let us therefore cultivate a spirit of hopefulness and trust that such a Mahatma will appear.

PART II
NATIONAL SELF-REALISATION

National Self-Realisation

I

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PROGRESS, in the nation as in the individual, implies an ideal. When upon the consciousness of a people there begins to dawn the vision of its weakness, and when, as a result of this, is begotten a longing for national regeneration, the question which agitates the minds and hearts of patriots is *how* this may be brought about.

From the attempts to find an answer, there gradually emerge, first, a definite conception of the kind of regeneration required, and second, a widespread conviction of the line of action which must be pursued in order to bring it about. These two factors lie at the root of all progress, and, taken together, are commonly called "The National Ideal."

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Undoubtedly the most fateful period in the history of a race, is that in which it is called upon to choose its ideal. Upon that choice its whole future is dependent—its own internal progress, and its power to be a blessing to the rest of the world.

It is not our purpose here to discuss the extent to which India was possessed of a defined ideal in the remote past. Whatever may be the truth in regard to that, there can be no doubt that, for many hundreds of years, the ancient ideal has been so obscured and corrupted that it has ceased to mould the life of the nation, and inspire her sons to press on in the path of progress, or devote their thoughts and efforts to the national welfare. As a consequence, India, to-day, after thousands of years of glorious history, finds that she must pause, and attempt to discover, in the light of the present, as well as of the past, the Ideal which shall from henceforth shape her destinies. Her sons are called to "see visions and dream dreams," and to ask each other, and their own

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hearts, what they wish the India of the future to be. On all sides the nation is awaking from its age-long sleep, and progress is inevitable. It is no longer possible for her to remain stationary, and this being the case, she is merely required to determine upon the goal towards which she will direct her steps.

Sons of India, what is your conception of the enlightened and emancipated India of the future? In what respect do you hope to see her great and glorious, winning the respect of mankind? It is upon the answer which the earnest and educated Indians of this generation give to these questions that her future history must depend. The responsibility which rests upon you is great indeed, and the ultimate disaster which would result from the choice of a mistaken national ideal must weigh heavily upon those of you who have given the matter serious consideration.

It is because this decision must be made, and because a right decision is so vital to the national welfare that the writer has felt

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impelled to deal with the subject, and point out what he has come to consider the false and the true conceptions of future greatness for India. While attempting this, he has, for obvious reasons, left that aspect of the question entirely untouched which has to do with religion, although he considers this one of the most important factors of all.

All those who dream of a regenerate India, and who are giving their lives to make this dream an accomplished fact, start with a common ground—their love for the motherland and a firm conviction that the day is coming when she will again rise to a position of dignity and honour among the nations of the world. All are intensely conscious of her present fallen state, and feel deeply and bitterly the stigma which the illiteracy, social degradation and general inefficiency of so many of her sons have cast upon her. Their pride of race has been deeply wounded, and they long to win back for India her lost prestige. It is only when they begin to describe the reformed and enlightened nation

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of their dreams that we can realise how widely their conceptions differ.

As a discussion of the different religious panaceas proposed by the various reformed communities of modern India is beyond the scope of this chapter, the question is limited to one of the *social* and *economic* future of the country. Could educated India now but arrive at a right conception not only of her potentialities, but also of those *limitations* which climate and economic conditions have imposed upon her, much expenditure of energy in wrong directions might be averted, not to mention disappointment and mortification.

In making this assertion the writer does not mean to imply that the question of India's future is one that can be settled merely by adopting a theory of what should be. We live in a world governed by facts rather than theories. He considers, however, that, in the development of a people, a defined national ideal is a fact of the first magnitude, and that the ultimate influence which it exercises upon the destinies of a race cannot

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but be most profound. If, at this juncture, the educated classes could gain a really clear conception of what they wished India's future greatness to consist in, who could deny the tremendous influence this would have upon her development?

Let us, then, first consider the *limitations* to which India is subject. Though a land of vast resources, she can never become a wealthy country. Had she but a population of eighty, instead of three hundred, millions, and had the disability of climate not existed, she might have hoped to become one of the most wealthy nations in the world. Conditions being what they are, this is for ever impossible. We may, with reason, hope for the time when prosperity will be general, and when the grinding poverty, which now ruins the lives of millions, will no longer exist, but we can hope for no increase of wealth great enough to make possible a more expensive scale of living for the vast masses of the agricultural population.

If this be so, we may arrive at a definite conclusion: namely, that in the India of the

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future, no matter how enlightened and prosperous she may be, the domestic economy of a vast majority of the population will, of necessity, be marked by that simplicity and frugality which we find in the village household to-day. That this is a blessing, rather than a misfortune, the writer hopes presently to demonstrate.

Many will concede the above, but will urge that India's hope of economic progress lies in the development of her vast natural resources for the building up of an industrial civilisation able to compete on equal terms with the great manufacturing countries of the West. The advocates of this ideal describe in glowing terms—and justly so—the unutilised natural wealth of the land.

With the main contention of these advocates one heartily agrees *i.e.*, that foreigners should not be permitted to exploit India's latent resources purely for their own profit and to the practical exculsion of Indians. There is much, however, which can not be so readily accepted. For instance, it is asserted that Indians can

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acquire the necessary capacity to compete on equal terms with the western people in commercial enterprises.

This assertion is true without doubt. There is no inherent difference or defect in Indian character which would make it impossible for it to acquire this capacity in the midst of those circumstances and surroundings which have developed the industrial and commercial capacity of the west. Had the Indo-Aryan races turned their faces towards Europe, and the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons and Germans crossed the Himalayas, the economic situation would have been reversed. All unknowing, the two great branches of the Aryan race determined irrevocably the character of their future civilisations, when they began their march, the one towards the south and the other towards the west—civilisations necessarily differing as widely in character as India differs from northern Europe.

But, though readily admitting that Indians are in natural capacity fully the equals of their brethren of the West, the writer does

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not feel that this permits him to arrive at the conclusion *i.e.*, that Indians can ever hope to enter the field of Western commercial enterprise, and there compete with Europe or America on equal terms. The vast machine of manufacture, commerce and finance which at present seeks to control and utilise the resources of the world, is, in its organisation, ideals and aims, purely a product of the Western economic development. It is as little suited to the needs of this land, as the heating apparatus of a London house would be to an Indian bangalow.

As briefly as possible, the writer will attempt to explain why he considers that Western Industrialism is essentially unsuited to India. His conclusions are based upon experience gained before coming to this country. Before his arrival in India, his life was lived in a great American city, in the midst of a community devoted to manufacture and finance. In his own home, and in those of his friends, these subjects occupied a prominent place in the thoughts and conversations.

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of all the male members. Consequently he had abundant opportunity of becoming acquainted with the business ideals and activities of a very representative section of the Western business world. It is this which has convinced him that any idea of industrial competition upon equal terms between India and the West is out of the question.

This does not, as has previously been pointed out, imply that there is any inherent incapacity in Indians for efficient commercial enterprise. Undoubtedly, this is not the case. The Marwaris of Upper India and the Komatis of the South are the living refutation of such an inference. That element which makes it for ever impossible for India to attain to a manufacturing or commercial efficiency, such as would render her capable of competing with the West on equal terms, is her climatic limitation. This, of course, applies to the enterprises of the domiciled European community, as well as to Indians.

It will be easier to explain the part played by climate in this question, if we point

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out the American business-man's conception of *efficiency*. Briefly, it is *to get the largest amount of the best work out of a given amount of time*. His favourite axiom is that "Time is Money," and this is the root principle of all business operations in the West. It is this which a young man, brought up in the midst of such surroundings, has constantly impressed upon him from his boyhood. In Europe and America, it is not the man who merely *produces* things in demand who succeeds, but he who can produce them most quickly. In consequence the most impressive aspect of all the work in those countries is the clock-like rapidity with which it is accomplished. All these mechanical appliances, all these ultra-organisations are *time-saving* in their purpose. The firm that does not succeed in saving the most time soon finds itself in the Receiver's hands.

As a result, we have what is commonly called "the rush" of modern life. It is not marked by useless noise and confusion—these are rather the signs of imper-

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fect organisation—but by the quiet, yet intense, speed of perfectly directed effort. Nothing is allowed to impair this efficiency. There is no place in the organisation of Western industry for the slow or the inefficient, nor is there an opening for any individual who has not all the strength and energy which good food and the bracing climate of the North Temperate Zone makes possible. The scheme of modern industrial enterprise in the West includes none but the prompt and energetic. There, as in all other parts of the world, there is room for unintelligent brute strength in the ranks of unskilled labour, but no amount of intelligence or education can gain a man success in the sphere of commerce and industry unless accompanied by the capacity to save time. Under exceptional circumstances the man without education may attain success, but the man without energy, *never*.

There can be little doubt that this *energy*, though indirectly, is, nevertheless, absolutely the outcome of climatic condition. There are numerous proofs of this, as, for instance,

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the fact that the farther south we go, in either Europe or America, the less efficient we find the industrial development—that is, according to the standard of the great industrial powers of the north. Again, even in those countries where the industrial and commercial efficiency has attained to the highest level, we find that the summer months are always looked upon as “the slack season,” and that, without exception, the most and best work is accomplished in the colder months. Even a rise of ten degrees in temperature in the summer time greatly impairs the efficiency of the highly organised systems of the West. In short, it becomes clear upon investigation that *extreme heat*—and the same could be proved, in an equal degree, of extreme cold also—militates profoundly against industrial and commercial enterprise, as organised in the West to-day. In fact, when we consider the factors from which the various differences in the social and economic life of India and Europe arise, we realise that it is not a question of East and West, but rather of North and South, and

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that, economically, Japan must be grouped with Europe and America, rather than with India. In other words, the nature of the industrial organisation of a nation is the outcome of its climatic situation rather than of racial peculiarities.

The reason for this state of affairs is evident. Highly organised commerce and manufacture are dependent for their efficiency upon energetic thought and action, and upon the constitutional mental and physical alertness which begets them. The more fully are we in possession of these facilities, the more successfully will we be able to engage in such operations. But these are the very qualities which are most unfavourably affected by extremes of climate, and excessive heat, in impairing them, destroys the capacity to compete on equal terms with those in whom these qualities have not been impaired.

We are thus brought to a second conclusion: The glory of the India of the Future will not lie in its commercial or industrial relations with the rest of the world.

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The two conclusions at which we have arrived provoke a question. If the domestic economy of the masses in regenerate India is to be marked by the simplicity and frugality which we see in the village life of to-day, and, if her industrial efficiency is not to be of a kind which will make it possible for her to compete with the West, *what will be the nature of her development, and in what will her greatness consist.*

For the writer the answer seems plain : If India is to become great, it will be by quiet internal development, and by reforming, building up, and perfecting that form of civilisation which already exists. Let her cling to the ancient traditions of family and village life, at the same time ever seeking to purge them of the weaknesses and evils that mar their beauty. Let her look upon the simplicity and frugality of Indian home life as a treasure which she cannot afford to lose, and understand that simple living is in no way inconsistent with the very highest education and

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culture. In fact, if we cast our eyes over the lives of those who have been greatest in the intellectual world, we shall find strong indications that the tree of learning thrives most in the simplest surroundings. Finally, let her look forward to an economic prosperity which does not imply ability to compete industrially with the West, but, which will find its expression in the quiet prosperity of her children in the towns and villages. Fully recognising that the intense rush of Western business life belongs to another world of thought and effort, let her devote her attention to the quiet development of her own resources for the use of her own sons and daughters. Her home life is simple; Her material needs are comparatively few. Let them remain so. At present she can supply them all, but if she elects to adopt Western conceptions of domestic comfort and communal organisation, she will, ere long, find herself involved in serious complications—pledged to an artificial and expensive method of living, which it will be impossible for her to support.

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This does not mean that she should not progress. In progress lies her salvation, but only to a limited degree in progress as the West conceives it. As has been said before, the domestic life of India needs to be freed from its present weaknesses—not cast aside for something else. Retaining its simplicity, let it seek to find its highest and noblest expression by means of sound education, and that culture which is its fruit. To ennoble the life of the Indian home, and to put such a home life within reach of the largest number possible of Indian families should be the aim of reformers. For, the life of a nation begins and ends with the home, and in the family, where high ideals prevail, the sense of obligation to the state will not be lacking.

Hence the above should be the ultimate purpose of all national effort, whether educational, economic or political. It is an object which cannot be really attained until education is general among all classes and for both sexes. It can only be brought about when perfected irrigation and the general

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adaptation of scientific methods in agriculture have freed the country from fear of famine, and ushered in an era of quiet but wide-spread prosperity among the common people. It can only be accomplished when a general understanding of the laws of Hygiene has opened the way for such a thorough sanitary reformation that the country will be freed from the demoralising inroads of plague and other epidemics.

The above is sufficient to indicate that the view taken in this paper is not opposed to progress. On the contrary it implies an enlightened India—a civilisation different in character from that of the great northern nations, but in no way inferior to it. America and Europe have their own economic problems to solve; India has hers. The writer's plea is that Indians may not take it for granted that the solution of one is the solution of the other.

Rather let them turn towards their motherland, ponder upon her problems, consider sanely those elements within her which give

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promise of future greatness, and at the same time learn to appreciate those limitations which neither time nor human effort will ever surmount. The result will be a clearer ideal, a more definite conception of the nature of that India for which it is their duty to hope and labour.

Some may ask the value of such a definite ideal, seeing that at present they are held fast in the grip of circumstances and conditions over which they have no control. The answer is, that this being the case, the possession of an ideal is their great salvation. For, Western conceptions of progress and economic success are insistent and powerful in their appeal to the minds of an awaking race, and India must have something truly Indian, yet truly noble and capable of realisation, upon which they may fix their eyes, if they are to avoid being led astray.

Let them then, while the wind blows so strongly from the West, look across the future to an India transformed, yet free from the intense and wearing strain of Western

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activity; where, in an atmosphere of quiet prosperity, the arts of learning and simplicity are cultivated side by side; where the careful husbanding and development of the natural resources of the land have made it possible for the poorest to have sufficient for his needs; and where education has become the prized possession of all;—an India in which the dignity of family life, sound education and intelligent patriotism are united to simplicity of living, and freedom from the mistaken idea that the happy home must needs be the home of luxury.

Do you think it a low ideal—less glorious than that which the West has set before her? Indeed, it is not. Europe and America have already begun to suffer from the results of the nerve-breaking strain under which their present economic situation forces them to live. As wealth piles up, luxury is on the increase, and, in America, at any rate, *the ability to spend largely* is fast becoming the ideal of a large section of the community. But this is not all; the people in that country are beginning to

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reap the fruit of the unnatural intensity of their business life. Each new decade marks the inception of some new branch of research in the field of nervous disorders, nervous breakdowns are becoming more and more common, and insanity is on the increase. In fact, it is becoming increasingly clear that no people—not even those most favourably situated as regards climate—can live as the nations of the West are doing, and not suffer nervously for it.

Let India, therefore, cling to the precious heritage of simple living, which the West has been so unfortunate as to lose. Let her youngmen make it an essential part of any ideal of national greatness to which they may aspire. The time is coming when the nations of Europe and America will awake to a realisation of what they have lost, and will, one fears, sigh for it in vain. It may be, however, that in the time of their need an enlightened and ennobled India, freed from her present weaknesses and defects, great with the spirit of true simplicity, may be able to

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preach a gospel of economic and social salvation to those nations which have become weary and broken in striving after that which brings neither contentment to the individual nor prosperity to the state.

II

SWARAJ: THE ULTIMATE GOAL

IT is obvious—that the methods we employ must depend upon the object we have in view. It is therefore essential definitely to understand what we desire—the goal at which we would arrive—before we decide upon the method we should employ to attain it.

Unless I have misunderstood the implications of my conversations with Mr. Gandhi and his associates, I am in absolute agreement with them as to the *only end* worth striving for. Leaving out of consideration, for the present, that ultimate and glorious goal when all humanity, freed from selfishness and moral slavery, has realised its essential oneness, the object upon which we must set our hopes, and towards which we must at present strive is the freeing of the people of this land from the debasing position of political inferiority in which they at present find themselves—not merely that they may attain to reater material comfort, but chiefly that they

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may be enabled to realise the potentialities of their natures as free moral agents. We are convinced that no people living in subservien-
cy to another people which looks down upon it and considers it racially inferior, can be otherwise than debased, and I, at any rate, would rather see this land plunged in anarchy and chaos, with all the misery and disaster that such a state of affairs would entail, than look forward to the perpetuation of such a relationship.

Our *immediate object*, therefore, is the destruction of all those aspects of life in India to-day which imply, or make possible, the assumption of the superiority of the "white man" *as such*. We would make an end of the relation which results in a constant praying for favours, on the one hand, and the condescending grant of them, upon the other. We would find a way to end that relationship in which foreign officials live, as inaccessible as Mahadev on Mount Kailash, each surrounded by his vortex of parasites, who batten upon the miseries of a poor

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and inarticulate peasantry. We would put an end to this, partly for the material benefit that would accrue, but chiefly to free the people from the moral debasement which such a relationship necessarily implies.

The goal set before us in the announcement of August 20th, 1917, was Self-government within the British Empire. My own personal conviction is that this cannot be our *ultimate object*. It may, or may not, be a step to that object. We must aim at real equality with the other free peoples of the world, and our self-respect should make the thought of a perpetual partnership with a group of nations, such as compose the British Empire, an impossibility. Can we look forward to being permanently linked with Australia, voicing the policy of which the Hon. W. A. Watt, treasurer of the Australian Commonwealth, speaking in London this year, said :—

“The dominant thought in our minds has been that in southern Asia live 800,000,000 coloured people, and the Australian people say that whatever can

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be done to keep our country for such as the British and their children should be done.”

—or, with a colony of the view-point of which this extract from the Sydney “Morning Herald” is typical :—

“Today the people of the world are in dire want, and in the direst want are the myriads of the East. Australia to them is a land of plenty. We shall have to show our right to hold the land of plenty. Our title depends first upon our possession of it, and secondly upon our power to hold it..... In that way only will our nation be built up sufficiently strong to be successful in a struggle for possession of the vacant lands of the Pacific, of which Australia is the most prized.”

If the above are expressive of the Australian view point—and they are—can we, for a moment, imagine that India could ever be *in reality* an equal member of the Empire? No; it would be an equality in which Indians had possibly the sorry consolation of being able to keep Australians, Canadians and South Africans out of this land, while they themselves, politely, but firmly, restricted to their own

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borders, might, from the Indian Isolation Camp, enjoy the privilege of watching their white "equal fellow-subjects" of the Empire engaged in their "struggle for possession of the vacant lands of the Pacific" which the "coloured people" of south-eastern Asia must not contaminate by their presence. Will our self-respect permit us to contemplate this as a permanent state of affairs? Or, that we be linked with Canada, or with the sister colonies of South Africa after the way they have treated the people of this land? If so, the Heavens help us, for we have no self respect. Some of the worthiest of us, led on by the hope that in a new awakening of the world the "white" races will outgrow their racial pride, still cling to the thought of an equal position for India within the Empire. Believe one of pure British stock, whose forefathers for nearly two hundred and fifty years have played an honourable part in building up the great Republic of the West: Whatever may be said of the Latin races, the "colour prejudice" of the

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Germans, British and Americans is too deeply seated to justify our indulging in any hope of a change in the immediate future. These races really and honestly believe in their innate superiority, and they consequently think it is both their right and their duty to control the destinies of mankind. For this reason also, I believe, it does not occur to them that they have no right to forcibly exploit the resources of the world, or compel all other nations to adapt their political and economic life to the requirements of western Industrialism. The time may come—God grant it!—when the West, purged by adversity of her pride and predatory industrialism, will look upon the non-white races of the world as equals and brothers, but that time is not yet, and long before it dawns upon us, India must have won her own free and independent place in the comity of races, wherein alone that growth in “self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control” is possible by which nations, as well as individuals, can realise their potentialities. Hence, I would urge upon those who still

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cling to the dream of such a permanent connection, to dismiss it as incompatible with India's fullest life. I am anxious to have them do so, not because I contemplate the advisability of an immediate severance of the Imperial connection, as will hereafter appear, but because the goal we set before us must greatly influence the nature of our present efforts. How impractical the conception of the British Empire is as a comity of equal sister nations, including India, will appear in a moment if we try to envisage it ; Indians excluded from all her sister colonies, excluded from that peaceful penetration which all other "white" British subjects claim as their right, and the uninhabited areas of the world kept as a preserve for those who need them far less than she does. The idea is preposterous, a disgrace to those who propose it, and an insult to those it is proposed.

To sum up my position : Our *immediate object* should be to secure the elimination of every thing existing in the relations between the Government and the people which

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makes for Indian debasement and demoralisation; and our *ultimate goal*, in the light of which we should strive, and towards the realisation of which our efforts should tend, must be absolute Swaraj for India.

It may well be that, among the British readers of this book, there will be some who feel that in writing the above, and in the succeeding discussion of methods, I am urging a policy inimical to the interests of the Empire. There may even be those who consider my proposals disloyal. If so, I am convinced that they are in error upon both points. For, I am certain that, a hundred years hence, the historian of this period will be at one in their conviction that the only hope for the preservation of the British Empire lay in her voluntarily giving up her hold upon India. The strength of that Empire can only lie in its being composed of peoples with a common civilisation and springing from a common stock, with common ideals and a common ambition. The position in the Empire, which the various colonies

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which compose it would assign to India, is one which can only produce greater hatred as the years go by, and will, eventually, if held to, make India the cause of the Empire's disruption. At the time of the American Civil War, Abraham Lincoln declared—and the truth of his assertion we would all acknowledge—"This nation cannot exist half slave, half free." That declaration is also true of this Empire. Politically and socially, its various parts must be equal if it is to survive. Either get the colonies to throw open their doors to their Indian fellow subjects, giving them exactly the same civil and political rights as they enjoy themselves, throw open to Indians as to other British subjects, the doors of opportunity throughout the length and breadth of the Empire, free them from all the social disabilities that they suffer as Asiatics away from their own shores, or know well that, in trying to keep India as a part of it, you are preparing the destruction of the Empire.

You know that you cannot grant Indians these equal rights and opportunities within the

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Empire—that any attempt now, or in the future, to force such a policy upon the colonies would mean the instant disruption of the Empire. And this being so, you cannot keep India. The very assumption that the people of this land can be kept in the relation that you propose under such conditions—conditions which no Englishman would for a moment entertain for himself, or his race—implies your conviction that the Indian is inferior.

I would submit to you that, leaving justice out of the question, the most *profitable* course for England is to willingly give India her independence, and to start at once preparing her for it. If you attempt to hold her as a part of the Empire against her will, you will lose both India and the good-will of the Indian People. Will not your interests in this land suffer infinitely more thus, than if you should decide at once to help her prepare for absolute independence?

Suppose you should say to India, “We recognise that our paths cannot be the same,

and we ask you to co-operate with us in transferring the entire administration to you within the next ten years. We shall devote that period to the problem of getting the whole of the management of the country into your hands and from to-day shall make no new appointments from England. Not only do we promise that by the end of that period the whole of the administration will be in the hands of Indians, but if you will help us to do it, we shall make it our business to see that you have a real Indian army, officered by Indians, to protect you from aggression after our departure. After handing over the affairs of the country to you we shall retain the control of the Army for another five years, merely with the view to seeing that things are running comfortably under the new regime before we go. At the close of that period India shall cease to have any connection with the British Empire, except in so far as she may, after our departure, choose to enter into treaties or alliances with it. All that we ask in return for the services we have rendered

you, is that you will treat those of our race who have settled among you, or whose business takes them to your land, with the same consideration that you show for your own people."

Were the British Empire willing to make such a declaration and forthwith set to work to discover—not, how little she would have to give Indians, but how much she could immediately transfer to them—think of the immediate and wonderful change that would come over the relations of the two races with each other. You would find that those who are at present your bitterest opponents would be your most devoted helpers. When the British connection had come to an end, those whose interests had kept them here, instead of being odious as reminders of a foreign dominion, would be strong in the gratitude of a people who owed so much to your race. India, instead of being a danger spot within the Empire would be her friendly ally. Could the Empire but take such a step actuated by the highest motives, without haggling or attempting to force upon India various distaste-

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ful treaties based upon her own selfish advantage, she would conquer India in a truer sense than she has ever done yet, and would hold her in stronger bonds than any she can forge to hold her unwilling and resentful within the Empire. Surely the respect and friendship of an Independent India are of more value than the relation you at present hold to her. I beg you to remember that a friend without is a tower of strength, whereas an enemy within is only a source of disaster and possible ruin.

I am confident that though this counsel may not be acceptable to the statesmen and Imperialists of the day, the verdict of the future will be that *we* who gave it, not those who turned their back upon it, were the true friends of the British Nation and the British Empire.

III

NON-CO-OPERATION

ALTHOUGH convinced that the only means by which the British Empire can hope to be profited by India will be found in following the policy noted above, we must reluctantly admit that at present there seems not the slightest probability of her doing anything of the kind. As a consequence, and in default of that nobler solution of the problem, it is essential for us to discover some other escape from the present unsatisfactory relation in which the two races stand to each other.

In the previous chapter, I have stated my conviction that to those who are working for the welfare of this land, the *ultimate goal* must be absolute Swaraj, unlimited by any Imperial connection, and the *immediate aim* the elimination forthwith of those aspects of the British connection which make for racial prestige in the rulers and the sense of racial inferiority in the

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people of India, together with the salvation of the latter from the oppressions of those petty officials who, living secure in the confidence of having cut off their superiors from all human touch with the masses, grow fat at the expense of the common people. In other words we must find a way to secure that for as long as the British remain in this land it may not be upon a basis which assumes their racial superiority; neither in theory nor practice must they be permitted to arrogate to themselves rights or privileges not open to Indians; they must be held to all their promises; their lives, liberty, property and honour must be held no more sacred than those of Indians; they must justify their presence and the pay which they enjoy by evincing a genuine determination to overcome the excesses of their subordinates, instead of supinely permitting them to continue for lack of fearless and energetic action.

It is at the root of these evils that Mahatma Gandhi and his associates are attempting to strike-

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Their position is so well known that it is needless to go into details. Suffice it to say that they seek, by taking two wrongs, committed by the British Imperial and the Indian Governments respectively, and by widely agitating against them, to compel the authorities to keep their word in the one case and do justice in the other. They imply that if their just demands are not met, the British will altogether lose the confidence of the people of India and a further connection will not be acceptable. They propose to force the Government to seriously face these issues by a process of progressive non-co-operation with those in whose hands the administration of the country at present rests. Their programme implies, among other things, the awakening of the self-respect of the masses by making them alive to the hardships and disabilities under which they at present labour, and advocates their organising, to meet their own needs, through the instrumentality of the *panchayat*, together with a gradual withdrawing of themselves from association with the courts of law

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and the other channels of official administration. By these means, Mahatma Gandhi hopes to develop in the people the sense of responsibility and ability to manage their own affairs which will make possible the carrying out of his programme of a gradual withdrawing from association with government if the latter should remain obdurate. This withdrawal would logically reach its climax in the universal refusal to pay taxes, but the impression I obtained from my talk with him and others was that such a step would not be contemplated until the spirit of self-sacrifice had been widely infused. I was impressed with the fact that the various leaders felt intensely that the movement could only succeed if it were kept upon the highest moral level, and that its object would be defeated unless, along with their awakening sense of the wrong and the injustice done them, the spirit of Satyagraha were born in the hearts of the people. I do not know if Mahatmaji's conception includes the possibility of the use of *force*. It could without being inconsistent;

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but I am certain that it has no room in it for *hatred*. As I understand his vision, his effort is not directed against Englishmen *as such*, but against the unrighteousness of the relationship which has grown up between the English and Indians. It is for the vision of a way of righting a great wrong, so fearless, so noble in its conception, that I bow in reverence to the man who saw it. Could it be carried successfully through, it would mark a new epoch in the moral progress of the human race and would set India spiritually at the head of the nations. My heart goes all the way with Mr. Gandhi in his great endeavour; it is only my head which reluctantly lags behind. I shall attempt to give my reasons for this.

Let us assume that the Government refuses to accede to the demands made by Mahatmaji and his associates, and that they feel impelled to carry out the non-co-operation programme in all its details. Let us also assume that Mahatma Gandhi's ideals so influence the hearts and ideals of the masses that the

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present government ceases to function and drops to pieces from sheer lack of funds and of the support necessary for administrative purposes. Let us conceive the panchayats efficiently attending everywhere to the administration of their own localities, and the eyes of the people turned earnestly to noble and patriotic leaders for guidance in policies affecting the country as a whole. Such a thought is indeed inspiring, yet, even if we are able to conceive of such a perfect consummation as possible, there are still weighty reasons to pause and consider before we desire such a result.

Possibly, it is the duty of those of us who live in the north to call the attention of those who live further south to certain factors, up here, which might well play their part in the destruction of such a fair dream. Personally, I do so with hesitation, and fully admitting the possibility of my being in error. Only the anxiety that nothing should be done without a full consideration of its possible consequences emboldens me to place my apprehensions on record.

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I would ask our leaders to consider, on the one hand, the fact that for many years the people of India as a whole have been kept disarmed, that except in the north they have largely lost their martial traditions, and have quite forgotten how to defend themselves from armed violence. On the other hand, several of the border nations have been developed, through the British military policy, into efficient fighters in every sense of the word. In all other matters than the art of war these races are infinitely less advanced than the people of India proper, and I do not think any responsible man would accuse me of exaggeration if I assert that the chances of the martial races of Kabul and Nepal forgoing the opportunity for conquest that an Independent India, untrained in arms and unskilled to defend itself, would afford them, are remote in the extreme.

It is a time to speak plainly. We *must* not lose touch with realities if we would be true to India. The Motherland may be destroyed by short-sightedness as well as by un-

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faithfulness. My anxiety conjures before my imagination this picture of the possible consequences of a too early break with the British connection :

I see the Punjab over-run by the lashkars of Afghanistan and the turbulent trans-border tribes, all of them used to war and bloodshed and enured to rapine and plunder. I see the simple peoples of the eastern hills again driven from their homes to the forest by the Gurkhas, as their forefathers were a hundred years ago. I see Sindh harried by bands of Baluchis, and the highly trained armies of Nepal carving out for themselves a kingdom in the United Provinces. I see the Sikhs of the Punjab, rendered apprehensive by the advance of their ancient enemies, rallying around the chiefs of the Pulkian States and Kapurthala, with the raising of the standard of the Khalsa. And, last of all there looms the fearful possibility that, in the midst of such scenes of disorder and violence the old deadly religious issue will come again to life, and in the ever growing chaos, the star of India's

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dawning freedom be obscured for another long period by the dark clouds of selfish ambition, religious fanaticism and anarchy. *

I admit that this may be the nightmare of little faith. Heaven grant that it be only that, and that a free India may be capable of holding in check the forces of disorder without her border until India has evolved for herself the power for self-defence, with which the British have failed to provide her. Let not our leaders, however, in working for Swaraj, fail to take into consideration the possibility that a too early break with the British might have such consequences. Personally, I

* I have here spoken only of those dangers which might have their source upon India's immediate borders and which would arise in the North. But is the South free from its own perils? Consider the great Indian sea-board with its ports of Karachi, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta—none of them with any defences worthy of the name beyond the might of the British fleet. If the Imperial connection should come to an end before provision had been made for the adequate defence of these keys of India, what would our position be? Remember that there is another Island Kingdom nearer to our shores than the British Isles, nourished upon the ideals of Western Imperialism. In Europe also there are hungry powers with a past record in their dealings with non-white races, blacker by far than England's. Let those who seek immediate and complete swaraj ponder these things.

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should prefer such a state of affairs, with all the bloodshed and misery it would at first entail, were the only alternative a permanent connection with the British Empire. I should do so, believing that eventually the Pathans and Gurkhas would be absorbed into the life of the land, as the Moghuls and other invaders have been in the past, and that the debasing relation at present existing between the rulers and the ruled could not under such circumstances be possible for long.

And yet, let me add, nothing but the prospect of a *permanent* connection with the British Empire would lead me to welcome as an alternative such conditions as I have tried to picture above. The results, though not as disastrous as permanent connection with the Empire, would still be appalling. As Mahatma Gandhi himself recognises, nations like individuals have certain periods in which special impulses are evinced, which, if not taken advantage of and cultivated at the time of their appearance, are apt to die away and be lost. Not the least terrible of the possibilities

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of such a period of disruption and violence, with the break in education and ordered life that it would entail, is that under its stress the awakened impulse to freedom and a higher self-respect might be lost in the maze of selfishness, ambition and fear that always accompanies such a state of affairs. Students of history know that such things have happened before. I would cite only the hundreds of years of darkness and barbarism which settled down upon Europe after the disintegration of the Roman Empire. Indians will naturally think of the period following the great war of the Mahabharat. Let us be very sure that there is not another and a safer way to the goal of our desires before we choose this perilous path.

We must also consider another possibility. In the above paragraphs I have proceeded upon the assumption that Mahatmaji's purpose is capable of successful accomplishment so far as the people of British India are concerned, and have tried to show that even in the event of a complete success so far as the territories

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at present governed by the British are concerned, we should still be in the greatest danger of seeing his plan end in disaster by reason of the militant forces of barbarism upon India's borders, to whom the ideal of Mahatma Gandhi means nothing. Whether he can accomplish what he desires only the future will reveal, even so far as British India itself is concerned. We must realise that his ideal depends for its success upon its being carried out in the spirit of Satyagraha. If it should find its dynamic in the lower passions, I do not conceive that he would consider it a means to India's salvation. Yet, it is in just this that he is so handicapped. I know from personal experience that some of the leaders have imbibed his spirit, but I also know that the rank and file of those upon whom he has to depend for the extension of his propaganda, are far less under the influence of this vitally important aspect of his message than of a burning sense of injured self-respect, as Indians at the treatment that has been meted out to their fellows. I listened for several days to their messages to the people,

and confess that they did not seem to me calculated to develop the spirit of Satyagraha among the hearers. Now the success of the non-co-operation movement, as at present contemplated, seems to me to depend absolutely upon the growth of that spirit of discipline which will make it possible for the people to progress stage by stage, and at each stage only so far as Mahatma Gandhi dictates. Yet as I listened to speech after speech it seemed to me that the impression made upon the ignorant hearers was not of a kind to produce that result. The danger of the present method of appealing to the people would appear to lie in its creating an impetus based upon anger and indignation which, uncontrolled by the true spirit of Satyagraha, would carry the people along faster than Mahatma Gandhi would desire, and thus defeat the end he has in view. For, his object is a great moral victory over the forces of injustice; mere disruption and the loosing of the lower passions would be as distasteful to him as to the most moderate of the moderates. To me, the fatal weakness

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in his programme lies in the fact that so few of those upon whom he has to depend are imbued with his spirit, and I greatly fear that unless this movement of non-co-operation be carried out in the spirit of its great leader, it will degenerate into mere unintelligent disorderliness. If it does, it may be the means of severing the British connection, but I doubt if it will bring us the Swaraj we desire.

To sum up my position upon the present application of the principle of Non-co-operation: I feel that in view of our present defencelessness apart from the British, and in view of the thoroughness with which Government has trained the soldiers of the backward but warlike races upon our borders, we should be doing the Motherland a disservice if we succeeded in securing Swaraj at the present juncture. Supposing that the present government will not yield to Mahatma Gandhi's demands for justice in connection with the Punjab outrages, and that the British Imperial Government will not fulfill its pledges to Turkey—neither of which they are in the least likely

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to do—it seems to me that the methods by which many of those associated with Mahatma Gandhi seek to forward the policy he advocates, will lead to results very different from that which Mahatmaji desires, and consequently that the present application of the principle of Non-co-operation is a perilous one, and only justified if we can find no other way as efficient and yet fraught with less danger.

HOW IT MIGHT BE APPLIED TO ADVANTAGE

As I have previously stated, I conceive that our ultimate object, in the light of which all constructive work should be projected, is complete Swaraj for India. Her leaders should work for this with energy and determination. Their efforts should not be confined to talking and writing, but should be marked with that industry and devotion to detail that is essential to the accomplishment of any thing of value in this world. They should approach the problem with the fullest sense of their responsibility to think clearly, to keep their hold upon realities, and not allow their ideal-

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ism to impair their common sense with regard to the problems of the present. A great teacher once remarked that if the blind lead the blind they will both fall into the ditch. India to-day follows her leaders blindly, and it is their solemn duty to lead with eyes wide open to all the issues, perils and potentialities of the times and of the situation. They must know what they desire and how they propose to attain it. They must have chosen after careful consideration the surest and *safest* path to their goal, and each proposed advance must be made not only with determination but with the fullest possible provision for all contingencies.

I have pointed out that not only for her own sake but also for that of the British Empire India should have Swaraj. And yet before we desire it we must satisfy those conditions under which alone Swaraj would be a possibility. Very broadly speaking they are two:—

- (1) She must be in a position to defend herself from outside aggression.
- (2) Not only her leaders but her masses

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must have learned, at least to some extent, to think in terms of *the nation*, and as communities or individuals be prepared to sacrifice themselves when the national welfare demands it.

Unless these two conditions are realised. Swaraj for India, or any other country, is unthinkable. If we desire an Independent India we must set intelligently to work to fulfill these conditions. We must see that the country is in a position to protect itself without the aid of British troops, and we must teach the people to act together and to take a conscious and positive part in the effort to achieve a national life. I am convinced that neither of these tasks is beyond our power if we are ready to work for them.

All of us have our suggestions to make ; I give mine for what they are worth. I believe that if they were worked out it would be possible for us to attain our objects, both immediate and ultimate, and to do so without subjecting the country to the very grave perils which the present application of

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non-co-operation entails. At any rate, the position I put forward is worthy of the careful consideration of our leaders, because, in spite of the manifest deficiencies of the Reform Scheme, it would render it possible for us to use it as a very powerful weapon for the securing of what we need.

I would make use of

(1) The Reformed Legislative Councils.

(2) A system of Vigilance Committees.

I would have the two work in the closest conjunction with each other, or, rather, I would have the Vigilance Committees work in the closest conjunction with the Nationalist element in the Councils, to *force* the will of the people upon the British element in the Government. In the bringing of pressure to bear for the forwarding of Nationalist policies in the legislative assemblies and for countering any attempt upon the part of the Governor-in-Council to obstruct measures considered by the Indian members to be essential to national welfare, I would have the Vigilance Committees stand in the same relation to their re-

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representatives in Council that the big unions in England bear to the Labour Members in Parliament. As the latter is able to call a strike by an appeal to the Unions, or get them to otherwise bring pressure to bear upon a political issue, so would I have the Indian Nationalist element in the Councils able, when the need arose, to call the people throughout the land to passive-resistance and non-co-operation with the administration, by means of the Vigilance Committees in every province and district. In political questions the members of the Vigilance Committees of each district would stand to its representative in the Provincial Council in much the same relation that the heads of the Unions stand to the member representing their interests in Parliament. Through them the policy of the National party would be explained to the people, and through them the people would be called upon to passively obstruct administration if the official element in Government showed a determination to place obstruction in the way of national advancement.

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But this would be only one of the functions which I would assign to a Vigilance Committee. Its purely local work would be its normal work, and in explaining my conception of this I think I can best make clear the whole idea.

As regards their purely local functions, the object of the Vigilance Committees would be to *rectify* throughout the length and breadth of this country the relations existing between Englishmen and Indians, and between the people and the officials and their subordinates. This is how I think it could be done :

Just as Government has divided the country into Provinces, Divisions and Districts for purposes of administration, the Indian National Congress might appoint its National, Provincial and District Vigilance Committees, and set them to work carefully studying the problems, dissabilities and abuses prevailing in every locality. Of course, only responsible men prepared to do their duty would be of value for such work, and those appointed should be expected not only to draw up a report of all the evils and abuses found in the

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areas entrusted them, but to submit practical suggestions as to how they could be removed.

A District Vigilance Committee should not directly concern itself with the disputes and quarrels of individuals, except where a case arose in the proper settlement of which some important precedent, in line with their general work, would be established. Other cases would normally be settled in a court of law, or better still in the local Panchayat, and one of the functions of the Committee would be to encourage the development of the Panchayat system along the lines recommended by Mahatma Gandhi in order to awaken the people to the real issues of justice at present so largely obscured by the legal methods in vogue.

Its chief work, however, would lie in bringing to light and *forcing* the just settlement of every form of injustice practiced upon the people by the superior or petty officials of the area, the interests of which had been entrusted to it ; to bring to light any case or way in which Englishmen *as such* enjoyed advantages and privileges greater than those

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of the Indians, and furnish the data which would render it possible for the Provincial Vigilance Committee, working under the Congress and in conjunction with the National Party in the Council, to take the matter up and compel its abolition; to be constantly upon the watch for any case of oppression by the police, settlement officers, patwaris, or other petty officials, and for any case where an Englishmen had abused, ill-treated, or otherwise imposed upon an Indian, and seeking out the injured party to help him to prosecute the offender, if necessary, finding the means to do so by an appeal to the local public; to carefully watch the methods employed by the administrative officers and their subordinates when on tour, especially with reference to *resad* and *begar*, and not only report in the press but, where advisable, take into court any excesses of which they were guilty; to be constantly upon the look-out for any form of bribe-giving or bribe-taking, and, in the latter case, to lose no opportunity for a prosecution or for publicity; to report upon any wasteful

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use of the public money by the various local departments, especially in those cases where funds granted for public purposes were expended lavishly with special reference to the convenience of Europeans.

In short, the District Vigilance Committee would, on the one hand, work for the building up of the self-respect and initiative of the people, by showing them how to stand up collectively and individually against injustice and imposition, and by helping them, through the Panchayat, to grow in their capacity for self-government. As the champion of the people against all imposition and injustice, it would gain an influence with them which would make them ready to follow its advice should the leaders in the Councils call the people to their aid in compelling the passage of some needed measure, and in this way too the capacity of the people to co-operate with their leaders and the consciousness of a unity of interest in the national life would be developed. On the other—one might say on the *destructive* side—its efforts would be devoted to the

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elimination of every thing in the relations of the people with those in authority over them which interferes with the growth of manly self-dependence, self-respect and sense of racial equality—all the signs of a slave in the presence of his master—and to seeing that no Englishman in his relations with the people was permitted to advance one step beyond his rights as an equal fellow-subject.

As a concrete example of the working of such a conception, let me take the district in which I live. Here several local men have been trying to act as a Vigilance Committee for some time. Our problems in the main are these:

- (1) An unjust Begar System.
- (2) Unjust curtailment of the rights of the farmers in the forests.
- (3) Excesses of petty officials in their dealings with the people.
- (4) Excesses connected with the tours of administrative officers.
- (5) Abuses connected with the conduct of legal cases.

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We have only been working for about a year in any sustained manner, and yet, in that time, a considerable amount has been accomplished. We have the assurance that by next March. Head 1 will be settled to our satisfaction. Head 2 shows considerable improvement and we expect that during the coming year it will show still more. Work is well under way upon heads 3 and 4 and head 5 will shortly receive attention. It should also be remembered that all such work is cumulative, and that a victory under any head both increases the self-confidence of the people and strengthens our hands to attack other abuses. Carefully written representations with regard to all heads, except the last, have been made to the district authorities, and in connection with head 1 the representation was signed by all the people of this section suffering under the disabilities of begar. In this it was made very clear that unless the injustice were righted by a certain date we should resort to passive resistance at any cost rather than submit to the begar at present imposed. So ready have

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the farmers been to stand together in this matter that several villagers took their oaths by their village gods to present a united front and to stand firm even if their action should result in imprisonment, as well as to contribute the funds necessary to defend any one of their number against whom a suit might be brought. Various other villagers have since sent word to say that they are willing to do the same if the assurances given by the authorities are not fulfilled in the spring. The effect of thus standing together upon an issue of clear justice, and with the possibility of sacrifice which it implies, has a moral value of its own, and when the step is taken in a spirit of reasonableness, giving the authorities sufficient time to make other arrangements, it is not only an education to the people but to those in authority over them.

I give the above as an example of what may be done in a corner of a backward district. I have known the people well for years, and I can say without hesitation that this stand is producing a change in them. Before we made the effort they were dull,

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hopeless and cringing ; now they are beginning to think that life may be worth living after all, and I find a new energy and the first signs of an awakening manliness in them.

We are conscious that such a line should be taken only very occasionally, and then only when the leaders know to a certainty that the step can be made in an orderly spirit and with absolute self-control upon the part of those participating. We should point out, however, that such action would very rarely, if ever, be necessary when once it had been demonstrated that it could be successfully carried through. We do not expect that we shall ever be under the necessity of taking such a line again here, though we should not hesitate to do so if the need arose. Our policy will be first to be sure that we have a real grievance, secondly, see that it is placed before the authorities in the fullest manner, thirdly, give them every chance to right it, and fourthly—if they will not do so—passively obstruct administration until they do.

I have gone into considerable detail in

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the above case, for a concrete illustration is more understandable than an idea in the abstract. This is as far as our experience has carried us, but I would ask you to picture the strength of a coalition of effort upon the part of such a system of Vigilance Committees, working throughout the country under the authority of the Congress, and our Indian leaders in the Councils.

Whether you agree with me that India's ultimate aim must be absolute Independence, or contemplate her remaining permanently a self-governing unit within the British Commonwealth, it must be clear to you that, in the face of such an organised coalition of the people and their leaders, any attempt to obstruct our political progress upon the part of the British official element in the Councils would be out of the question. We complain that this section of the Government will still retain the *purse* in the Reformed Councils. In the last resort, not the Bureaucracy but the Congress, through its Vigilance Committees, would hold the strings of the national purse.

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I am certain of this from the wonderful influence our little effort has given us over the people here. Supposing that the system were developed thoroughly, and Government determined to carry a measure through by sheer power in the face of the united feelings of the country, as they did and in the case of the Rowlatt Bills, the leaders in the Councils and the Congress would confer; their orders would go out to the Vigilance Committees throughout India, and within a week administration would come to a stand-still quite quickly and without violence of any kind. This would be possible because the movement would be absolutely organised and under authority. It is not possible where action results upon an appeal to the passions and the people have little consciousness of the policy at the back of the appeal. Or, let us take a very extreme case, such as we hope will never arise. The Bureaucracy determines that India's revenues shall be spent for purposes which all thinking India considers obstructive to the country's progress, and in spite of the clearly expressed will of our

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leaders remain obdurate. Again the heads of the Congress and leaders in the Councils confer, the word goes forth, and revenues are not forth-coming. What the result would be is obvious to all of us. Such unanimity between the leaders and the masses would bring with it, *of necessity*, compliance with the Public Will upon the part of the Government.

From my experience of the Indian peasantry I am convinced that this great power for good could be gained over them by such Committees, made up of local men ever ready to unselfishly champion their rights. There is no doubt that, if such a course were followed, the power and prestige of the Indian National Congress would be enormously increased. For this reason, if such a course were ever contemplated by our leaders, I would urge them very earnestly to put it upon a basis in which all schools of political thought in India might be fairly and properly represented. Mahatma Ghandi would be the first to acknowledge that there are men in this land who do not at all agree with his policy yet love the

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Motherland every wit as much as he. The Congress should be a truly representative body if it is to perform its duty to the country. In a national assembly all the views held in the country should be represented, and the views of all should have an equally courteous and thoughtful hearing. It is only thus that the Congress can function properly for the Nation's good.

To produce such a system as I have advocated industry and sustained effort would be essential. Yet, it is possible; there are men fitted to organise and work upon Vigilance Committees in every district in India that I have yet seen, and I do not believe that there is a locality where, with a little initial guidance, the thing could not be accomplished. Of course details would have to be worked out. If the men at the head were chosen by Congress for their wisdom and firmness there is not the slightest reason why the power should be abused.

In these chapters I have stated my conviction upon four points :

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(1) That ultimately *Complete Swaraj*, independent of the British Empire, is the only desirable goal for India.

(2) That we are not as yet so situated that we could sustain swaraj, and that an immediate acquisition of it would be attended with the greatest peril.

(3) That the present application of the principle of non-co-operation is attended with so many perilous potentialities that we are only justified in resorting to it, if there is no less dangerous and more certain way.

(4) That there is another way by which firm and responsible leaders, acting under the Congress and utilising the Reformed Councils, could compel the Bureaucracy to bend to the will of the people.

That way is before you for consideration. I beg that before rejecting it you will consider it thoughtfully. Would it not train the people to be men? Would it not train them to act with their leaders in one common policy for the Motherland? Would it not render them conscious of their part in a great

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national effort? In other words, would it not teach the people throughout India *to think in terms of the nation*? Again, would it not make us strong to bend the Government to our needs and give us the power to make use of it for working out the political salvation of the Indian People?

Surely, it would give us all these things if we pursued the plan with application, industry and sustained devotion. And without these it is idle for us to talk of Swaraj, for nothing worth while in this world has ever been done or attained without these qualities.

IV

THE CHANGE IN THE CONGRESS CREED

A PERUSAL of the various Anglo-Indian publications must make it clear to any person of intelligence that practically every one of them totally misunderstands the meaning and significance of the change made in the Creed of the Indian National Congress. Indeed, it is only too evident that the whole of the spirit at the back of the efforts of the Congress Party is utterly misconceived by its opponents. I, personally, am inclined to think that it is in the main honest criticism, and for this reason feel impelled, as far as in me lies, to explain what has led many Nationalists to favour a change in the Creed. This I do as a Nationalist and as one who being present at the Nagpur Congress as a delegate whole heartedly gave my vote for the present Creed. A true understanding of what was at the back of our minds when we voted for the resolution should

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surely be of value to those who condemn it, whether Liberals or Anglo-Indians, for without this any hope of a satisfactory adjustment is hopeless.

It will be remembered that the old Creed of the Congress—that at present retained by the National Liberal Federation—postulated as its aim the attainment of self-government within the British Empire. The present Creed of the Congress runs as follows :

“The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.”

From this it will be apparent that the Congress deliberately left out all reference to the British connection. This naturally must give rise to two questions, and by answering them correctly the position of Congressmen will become understandable :

(1) What is the Nationalist's conception when he speaks and writes of *Swarajya*?

(2) Why was reference to the British connection omitted?

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Here I shall attempt to furnish intelligent answers, at the same time pointing out that my exposition of the Nationalist position makes no claim to be authoritative. I think, however, that it is correct, and give it as the result of many conversations both with the leaders and the rank and file of the Nationalist party.

SWARAJYA

We are not concerned with whether this word has been used in the past to mean self-control or self-government. It is, however, highly important for us to make clear what the Congress desired when it voted with such amazing unanimity for "Swarajya." This I shall now try to explain.

In the first place, too much stress cannot be laid upon the point that the demand for Swarajya does not *necessarily* imply an independence apart from the British Empire. In the course of various conversations upon this subject at Nagpur and elsewhere I have repeatedly heard the Nationalist position put thus: What we are determined to win for

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India is *Swarajya*; if it is possible of attainment within the Empire, why, then, let us stay in the Empire by all means, but it remains to be seen if real *Swarajya* is possible for India in the Empire. We are not at present concerned with the pros and cons of the British connection; rather are we concerned with the attainment of *Swarajya* at the earliest possible moment. Thus the demand for *Swarajya* is not essentially a demand for the severance of the Imperial connection, and I, for one, have not the slightest doubt that if the Empire can furnish to India the *Swarajya* that her self-respect and interests demand, and do so in the immediate future, neither the leaders nor the people would have the slightest inclination to sever the Imperial connection.

Let us now consider what the Nationalists mean by *Swarajya*. In the first place, the demand for it implies the repudiation upon the part of Nationalists of the idea that the British have any inherent right to be in India in a governing capacity *apart from the will*

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of the Indians themselves. It is not a plea, but a demand for a rectification of the present relationship existing between British and Indians. The demand for Swarajya is a demand for "Government of the people, for the people, by the people." Nationalists say, "We Indians do not object to you British *as Englishmen*. If you choose to come and settle among us, living as equals, with no claim to special rights or privileges, we have no objection. If you prove yourselves useful members of society we shall even welcome you, provided you put India and her interests first. If, however, you wish to retain the conception of the British as the ruling race, and the relationship between English and Indians which that assumption implies, then, we have no use for you, and we intend to make it impossible for you to remain here in such a relationship to us."

"So far as government is concerned, we intend to be governed by those who will put Indian interests first and who will be responsible to the Indian people. The conception of

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hakim must give place to that of servant of the people. In Swarajya the people must be the ultimate authority as to how public monies are to be utilised and with regard to all home and foreign policies affecting the public welfare. Officials must be appointed and remunerated by a really Indian government strictly upon the basis of their usefulness to India."

So far as the Imperial connection is concerned, we admit no *right* to compel us to retain our place in the Empire. If we remain a part of it, it must be because Indians are convinced that it is in the interest of the Motherland to do so. This you can demonstrate to us when you make it clear that Indians will enjoy in every part of the Empire all those privileges which their *white* fellow subjects at present enjoy....in other words, that not only India, *but Indians*, shall be subject to no racial discrimination in any part of the Empire."

In other words, the Indian Nationalists whose views the Congress represents, are

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demanding for this land, what every single self-respecting Englishman would insist upon to himself and his people.

Of course, their opponents, while admitting that the demands of Nationalists are unexceptionable, would affirm that India is as yet unable to make use of such a freedom. To this objection the Nationalists have two replies. In the first place, while admitting present lack of experience, they would claim that the relationship in which Indians stand to the "ruling race" at present is such that as long as it continues, the people of this country will become progressively more and more unfit to manage their own affairs. In the second place, they say "We admit that as a result of the past policy of government there is a lack of experienced men in various departments, and that for some time we should have to depend to a certain extent upon the aid and experience of outsiders. We do not therefore propose to carry on our affairs without the assistance of outside experience, in so far as that experience proves necessary. We do insist, however, that

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those who are to serve India shall be responsible to India, and that the people of this land, through their representatives shall determine the nature and extent of the assistance they require. Just as certain Indian firms employ English experts who are responsible to those firms for their position and salary, so must those who serve India, whether Indians or English, be dependent upon India and responsible to her. This is not possible under present conditions, and until it becomes possible a proper relationship between the people and the administration is out of the question.

One of the leaders of the Congress party—a man who is looked upon by Anglo-India as a hater of the British—said to me some time ago, “When we attain Swarajya we do not contemplate turning out the English at present serving in an official capacity; on the contrary, we shall find the services and experience of those of them who will adapt themselves to the new position, of great value to us for some years to come. There is little probability that any of

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them would find themselves without jobs, except those who proved unwilling to serve under an Indian Government." And one of his friends—a man who is devoting all his time to the service of the national cause—added, "It would of course be unjust to turn out those who had been working here all their lives if they were ready to fit into the new state of affairs."

Opponents of the Congress ideal would be in a better position to understand it if they would only realise that its efforts are not directed against Britishers at all, but against the present relation existing between the British and the Indian people. In all my contact with this party I have never heard a word against the presence of British in the country. What is demanded, however, is that they should stay here upon exactly the same political basis as the other people of the land, and cease to expect preferential treatment, except in so far as each has individually proved himself of special value to India. The Nationalists of India are in deadly opposition to the

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system by which the power of appointment to every position of vital importance to the welfare of the country is in the hands of those who look upon a land other than India as their home, and to whom the welfare of England and the English is dearer than the welfare of India and Indians. Admitting the possibility that the Imperial connection may be of permanent value to India, they nevertheless are in vital opposition to being governed by those who must, in the nature of things, put Imperial interests first, when the interests of India and of the Empire conflict.

In brief, the Nationalists are at one in feeling that no government can be acceptable to India which is not responsible to India, and which is not so constituted that its primary allegiance will be to the interests of India. The attainment of such a system of government is what most nationalists mean by *Swarajya*. Let any right-minded Britisher try to put himself in their position, and, having done so, say whether he would not insist upon as much.

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OMISSION OF REFERENCE TO THE BRITISH CONNECTION

The above explanation of Swarajya should make it clear why any reference to the Imperial connection was omitted. We must remember that the remodelled creed does not hint at a Swarjya *apart from the Empire*. The attitude of which it is the expression is this: "Our aim is to secure a political situation which is consistent with Swarajya. If it is possible within the Empire then we have no objection to the Imperial connection; if the latter can be shown to be of value to a Swarajic India we shall desire its retention. On the other hand, much has occurred of late to render us doubtful as to whether India can ever really attain a self-respecting position in the British Empire as at present constituted. We note especially the attitude of the dominions which form a large part of the British Empire, and their treatment of their Indian fellow subjects. We see in by far the largest areas of this Empire—to use the words of the Cambridge Modern History—"the determina-

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tion to preserve the European type uncontaminated and to forbid the intrusion of Mongols and other Asiatics." We see this *determination* working practically in endless injustices to our race in Africa, Canada, Australia, Fiji, and other parts of the Empire. We note an attitude of mind upon the part of all European races, wherever situated, towards Non-European races, which renders us doubtful of the possibility of India's ever really being "an equal partner" in the British or any other European Empire. You must admit that the history of the dealings of the "white" races with the rest of mankind, displays a spirit of selfishness, lack of consideration, and aggrandisement which justifies us in being doubtful if any partnership between you and us would not be that of 'the fox and the stork.' All the above being undoubtedly true, you surely cannot blame us for saying that in our effort to win a self-respecting position for our race we prefer to omit any reference to our permanent relationship to the Empire, until something has occurred to demonstrate definitely

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whether or not the Imperial connection is for us compatible with our national welfare and with self-respect."

The above is really the reason of the omission of any reference to the Imperial connection. Surely in the light of history you cannot blame the Nationalists for their position. To me, at any rate, the position taken on this point by the Congress seems moderate in the extreme, for my studies have convinced me that any hope of real equality of treatment for India, in the comity of nations known as the British Empire, is quite illusory.

To sum up the position very briefly therefore, I would again lay stress upon these points :—

(1) The attitude of most of the thinking members of the Congress Party is not anti-British, though naturally considerable resentment is evinced as a result of the existing relationship between the "ruling race" and Indians, and the things which have resulted from it.

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(2) The movement aims at an absolute rectification of this relationship, and at securing a government that will be responsible to the people, and will consequently put Indian interests above outside or even Imperial interests.

(3) Its leaders do not contemplate putting a Chinese Wall about the country and ejecting all foreigners, but wish to secure that all peoples resident in India shall be subject to the same obligations, and that there shall be no racial privilege.

(4) They do not contemplate dispensing with the services of those members of the present administration who would be prepared to conform to new conditions and work loyally under a Swarajic government.

(5) The omission of reference to the Imperial connection does not imply the determination of the Nationalist party to break the Imperial connection, but implies that the retention of that connection must depend upon the capacity of the empire to make, not only India, *but Indians* equal partners.

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I wish to conclude with a reference to an incident at the Nagpur Congress. On the last day an Englishman was present with whom I subsequently had the opportunity for conversation. He told me that he had been very keen to attend the earlier sessions, but that the various other people at the club had done their best to dissuade him, saying that it would be extremely dangerous for him to enter the pandal—possibly as much as his life was worth. They had been shocked at the very idea of his taking his wife. Finally he came in spite of them. He told me that he had been treated with the greatest courtesy, and that the impression he took away was as different as possible from that of those who would have restrained him from going near the place.

The above is significant of the relations of the two races in India at the present time. What English men, except those whose job it is, read the Indian papers with any regularity? Who of them attend Nationlist conventions or make an effort to keep in

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human touch with the people who are influenced by Nationalist ideals? On the contrary, they are discouraged from doing so, and the British must depend for their impressions upon the reports of the police and secret service agents, rather than upon the balanced judgment of those broader and more cultivated minds by which alone the situation might be correctly appraised. What can be expected of real understanding and sympathy with National aspirations from those who, from the first day of entry into the country, have read nothing but the Anglo-Indian papers, and moved among those who have read nothing else? Who of them all could with such a preparation put himself in the position of an Indian, and see the present situation from the Indian point of view? I would close with one more observation. We read in recent issues of various Anglo-Indian papers that the Congress does not represent the feelings of the Indian people. This is incorrect. Up to the present the methods of election have no doubt been defective, and no

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more calculated to produce real representatives of the people than the blandishments resorted to in rural England until very recently by parliamentary aspirants of both parties. Yet, despite these defects in the methods of election—which the Congress has now taken steps to remedy—I think I am correct in asserting that the feeling of the country as a whole is at the back of the Congress, and that it is to the Congress that the common people look for the solution of present difficulties. In saying this I am not speaking from theory, but as a result of experiences undergone since my return. There is no district so backward that the proceedings of the Congress were not followed in it with absorbed interest by at least some of the literate people, and the uneducated are never tired of asking about what was done at Nagpur. If England or Anglo-India go upon the supposition that the Congress represents the ravings of a microscopic minority of unbalanced haters of the British connection, all I can say is that they are riding for a fall. It would be far

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more to the point if they would open their eyes, and putting all prejudices aside, seek to understand the true inwardness of the movement, for, intelligent or unintelligent, the feeling and sentiment of nearly the whole of India is with it.

APPENDIX

CONGRESS ORGANISATION

NEW CONSTITUTION

The following is the constitution of the Indian National Congress Organisation as adopted by the Congress of 1908 and amended by the Congress of 1911, 1912, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918 and 1920 :

Article I.—The Object.—The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

Article II.—The Sessions of the Congress—(a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such a place as may have been decided upon at its previous session, or such other place as may have been determined by the All-India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to.

(b) An extraordinary session of the Congress may be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee, either of its own motion, or on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees, wherever it may deem it advisable to hold such a session ; and the Articles of this Constitution sha

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apply with such modifications as the All-India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

Article III.—The Indian National Congress Organisation shall consist of the following :

- (a) The Indian National Congress.
- (b) Provincial Congress Committees.
- (c) District Congress Committees.
- (d) Sub-Divisional, Taluqa or Tahasil, Firka or other Local Congress Committees.

(e) The All-India Congress Committee.

(f) Such other Committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the congress in this behalf.

(g) Bodies formed or organised periodically by the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tahasil, Firka or other Local Congress Committees, such as the Reception Committee of the Congress and the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tahasil or other Local Conferences.

Article IV.—Membership—No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organisations referred to in the fore-going Article, unless he or she has attained the age of 21 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in Article I. of this Constitution and of the Rules of the Congress.

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Article V.—Provincial Congress Committees.—

The following shall be the Provinces with head-quarters mentioned against them, and where no head-quarters are mentioned or in every other case, the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall have the power to fix or alter them from time to time.

Province.	Language.	Head Quarter.
1 Madras	Tamil	Madras
2 Andhra	Telgu	
3 Karnatak	Canarese	Gadag
4 Kerala	Malayalam	Calicut
5 City of Bombay.	Marathi & Gujarati	Bombay
6 Maharashtra	Marathi	Poona
7 Gujarat	Gujarati	Ahmedabad
8 Sindh	Sindhi	
9 United Provinces	Hindustani	Allahabad
10 Punjab	Punjabi	Lahore
11 Frontier Prov.	Hindustani	Peshawar
12 Delhi	Hindustani	Delhi
13 Ajmer, Mewar & Br. Rajputana	Hindustani	Ajmer
14 Central Prov.	Hindustani	Jubbolpore
15 Central Prov.	Marathi	Nagpur
16 Berar	Marathi	Amraoti
17 Behar	Hindustani	Patna
18 Utkal Orissa	Oriya	
19 Bengal & Surma Valley	Bengali	Calcutta
20 Assam	Assamese	Gauhati
21 Burma	Burmese	Rangoon

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Provided that the All-India Congress Committee may, from time to time, assign particular Indian States to particular Provinces and a Provincial Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States assigned to it by the All-India Congress Committee to particular Districts within its jurisdiction.

The existing Provincial Congress Committee shall forthwith proceed to reorganise themselves in terms of this Constitution. Such reorganisation shall be final unless and until it is revised by the All-India Congress Committee.

Article VI.—(a) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee in and for each of the Provinces named in the foregoing article.

(b) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall organise District and other Committees referred to in Article III and shall have the power to frame rules for laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business not inconsistent with this constitution or any rules made by the All-India Congress Committee.

(c) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the District and other Committees in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committees.

*Article VII.—*Membership of local Congress Organisation—Every person not disqualified under

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Article IV and paying a subscription of 4 annas per year shall be entitled to become a member of any organisation controlled by Provincial Congress Committees.

Article VIII.—Election of Delegates—Each Provincial Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election of delegates to the Congress.

No one shall be qualified for election, who is not of the age of 21 years and who does not subscribe to the Congress creed.

The number of delegates shall be not more than one for every 50 thousand of the inhabitants of the Province of its jurisdiction, including the Native States therein, in accordance with the last census : provided, however, that the inclusion of Native States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates and representation of minorities, special interests or classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for the organisation of the electorate and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation (by a single transferable vote) of every variety of political opinion.

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The rules framed by each Provincial Congress Committee shall be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress not later than the 30th April. 1921, which rules shall be published for general information by the Secretaries as soon as possible after the receipt thereof.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the Reception Committee of the ensuing session of the Congress, an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected, containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them, to reach the Committee not later than the 15th day of December every year and in the case of an Extraordinary Session not later than ten days before the date advertised for the holding of such Session.

Article XI.—Subscription—(a) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All-India Congress Committee as may be fixed by the latter from time to time.

(b) No member of the Congress Committee shall vote at the election of representatives or delegates or be elected as such unless and until he has paid the subscription due by him.

*Article X.—Delegation Certificates—*Each Committee, referred to in Article VIII, shall issue certificates to the delegates duly elected in accordance with the form hereto attached, marked Appendix A, and signed by the Secretary of the Committee.

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Article XI.—Delegation Fees—Every delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of Rs. 10 at the Congress office shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress Pandal.

Article XII.—Right to vote—Delegates shall alone have the power of voting at the Congress sitting or otherwise taking part in its deliberations.

Article XIII—Reception Committee—The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress Committee, at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are members of the Provincial Congress Committee. The members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25 each.

Article XIV.—The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from among its own members.

Article XV.—It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress Session, to elect the President of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following article, and to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests, and as far as practicable, of visitors, and for the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings, and to submit a statement of receipt and expenditure to the Provincial Congress Committee within four months of the Congress of the Session.

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Article XVI.—Election of President—The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible, by the end of June, suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are, in their opinion, eligible for the presidency of the Congress as the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, and in the first week of July submit to all the Provincial Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendation provided that such final recommendation will be of any one, but not more, of such names, and the Reception Committee, shall as far as possible meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committee is accepted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at the special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the President recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees, or in the case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise of the President elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee, whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September; in either case the election shall be final provided that in no case shall the person so elected as President belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held.

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The President of a special or extraordinary session shall be elected by the All-India Congress Committee subject to the same Proviso.

Article XVII.—Disposal of Funds—(a) The Reception Committee shall, through the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province, remit to the All-India Congress Committee, not later than two weeks after the termination of the Congress Session ordinary or extraordinary, half the delegation fees from the Congress Fund.

(b) If the Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session it shall hand over the same to the Provincial Congress Committee in the Province in which the session was held to form the Provincial Congress Fund for that province.

Article XVIII.—Audit—The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned and the statement of accounts together with the Auditors report shall be sent by the provincial Congress Committee not later than six months from the termination of the Congress to the All-India Congress Committee.

Article XIX.—The all-India Congress Committee.—The All-India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members exclusive of Ex-Officio

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members. The Ex-Officio members shall be all past Presidents of the Congress and the General Secretaries and Treasurers, of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All-India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committee within their jurisdiction.

The allotment shall be on the basis of the population according to the linguistic redistribution of Provinces, or in such other manner as may appear more equitable to the All-India Congress Committee, and shall be published by the All-India Congress Committee before the 31st day of January 1921.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Election to the All-India Congress Committee shall ordinarily be in the month of November.

The first All-India Congress Committee under this Constitution shall be elected on or before the 30th of June 1921. Until then the members of the All-India Congress Committee recently elected shall continue in office.

Article XX.—The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All-India Committee to the persons so elected.

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Article XXI.—The All-India Congress Committee shall be the Committee of the Congress from year to year and deal with all the new matters that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose the All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame its own rules not inconsistent with this Constitution.

Article XXII.—(a) The President of the Congress shall be the Chairman of the All-India Congress Committee for the year following.

Article XXIII.—The General Secretaries—The Indian National Congress shall have three General Secretaries who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall prepare the report of the work of the All-India Congress Committee during the year and submit it with a full account of the funds which may come into their hands to the All-India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the season of the Congress for the year; and copies of such account and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress Committees.

Article XXIV.—Working Committee—The All-India Congress Committee shall at its first meeting appoint a Working Committee consisting of the President, the General Secretaries, the Treasurers and nine other members which shall perform such

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functions as may be delegated to it from time to time by All-India Congress Committee.

Article XXV.—Meetings of the All-India Congress Committee—The All-India Congress Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligations, and every time upon requisition by 15 members thereof who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

Article XXVI.—Subject Committee—The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall constitute the Subjects Committee for the ordinary or the extraordinary session following.

Article.—*XXVII.*—The Subjects Committee shall meet at least two days before the meeting of Congress in open session. At this meeting the President elect shall preside and the outgoing Secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing sessions of the Congress including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees for adoption.

Article XXVIII.—The Subject Committee shall proceed to discuss the said programme and shall frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

Article XXIX.—The Subjects Committee shall also

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meet from time to time as the occasion may require during the pendency of the Congress session.

Contentious Subjects and Interest of Minorities—(a) No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subject Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan delegates as a body object by a majority of the $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number and if, after the discussion, of any subject, which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mahomedan delegates, as a body, are by majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped.

*Article XXX.—Rules—*The All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules in respect of all matters not covered by the constitution and not inconsistent with its articles.

*Article XXXI.—Repeal—*The article and the creed of the constitution now in force are hereby repealed, without prejudice to all act done there under.

APPENDIX A

(VIDE Art. X OF THE CONSTITUTION)

I hereby certify that

Full name.....

Occupation.....

Age.....

Sex.....

Religion.....

Address.....

is a member of the.....Congress committee and

has been duly elected by.....Congress Committee

as a delegate to the Indian National Congress to be

held at.....in the month of.....

Sd. Secretary.

APPENDIX B

THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

(Number of members allotted by the All-India Congress Committee in accordance with Art XIX.

Madras, 25 ; Andhra, 20; Karnatak, 16 ; Kerala
8; City of Bombay, 7; Maharashtra, 16 ; Gujarat,
12; Sindh, 9 ; United Provinces, 52; Punjab, 33;
N. W. Frontier Province, 2; Delhi, 5 ; Ajmer, 7 ;
C. P. (Hindustani), 10; C. P. (Marathi), 10; Berar,
6 ; Bihar, 36; Utkal, 7 ; Bengal and Surma Valley,
52; Assam, 5 ; Burma, 12 ;

Total 350

PART III

THE FAILURE OF EUROPEAN CIVILISATION AS A WORLD CULTURE

The Failure of European Civilisation as a World Culture

I

FOREWORD

DURING December last I contributed a series of articles to the *Servant* and the *Bombay Chronicle*. The first of these dealt with *the ultimate goal* of Indian Nationalism, and in it I stated my conviction as a political student that India could never hope for a position of real equality in the comity of nations which constitutes the British Empire.

My justification for arriving at that conclusion has since been called into question by a number of journals I especially respect—notably, *The Indian Social Reformer*—and I have therefore decided to attempt their conversion upon this point. I would say at the outset, however, that I shall be filled with

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gratitude if any of them can convince me of the incorrectness of the position at which I have so reluctantly arrived, for I assure them that I am moved by no feeling of animosity against the race of my fathers. Indeed, only that larger loyalty to the interests of mankind as a whole has forced me to face this question myself, and had not the importance of the issues involved driven me to the conclusion that both Britishers and Indians must face them squarely also, I should never have raised it at all. Let me add that I am writing with a heavy sense of responsibility and beg those into whose hands this essay may come to give the whole matter their very thoughtful consideration, for, correctly or mistakenly, it deals with the very root of our troubles.

It will be seen as I put my case that it is no mere issue of the relation between India and the British Empire. On the contrary, it is a question of the relation which the races of European stock are to hold to the rest of mankind. In so far as the British

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are concerned, I would state very frankly my conviction that, despite their very black record in Tasmania, West Australia and certain other places, they have on the whole behaved better in their dealings with non-European peoples than any other of the "white" races. In reviewing the history of this nation's Imperial expansion it can be said that along with a welter of arrogance, self-seeking and political hypocrisy, we witness a distinct growth in the sense of obligation to better the condition of those whose lands they have occupied, and, as far as it is compatible with the Imperial interest, raise the "natives" to a position of greater prosperity. Taken individually, moreover, great numbers of British officials are magnificent men, unselfishly devoted to the interests of those over whom they exercise control. Surely none of us, unless we wilfully shut our eyes to realities, can deny that there have been aspects of the British connection which have been of the greatest value to India. I, at any rate, wish to acknowledge those benefits whole-heartedly. Indeed, the esteem

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and friendship I entertain for many officials in this land, based upon the most pleasant personal relations with them, make the task I have set myself even more distasteful than it would otherwise have been, for I am convinced that many of them honestly feel India's only hope of security to lie in a permanent connection with the British Empire.

In the following pages, I hope to show that the present world-supremacy of the European races (in which I include the races of European stock, wherever situated) will, if it continues, lead to a permanent cleavage in the human race, through the instrumentality of which the majority of mankind will be definitely assigned to an inferior position, both as regards social and political status and the opportunity for healthy development. The first portion of my essay will be devoted to a study of the growth of racialism and colour-consciousness in European civilisation, and will be largely based upon the article entitled "Race" in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, which is universally recognized to

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be the most authoritative work in the English language upon such subjects. In the second section, I shall attempt to show how the character of European expansion has been affected by the race-concept of the European nations. Lastly, I shall give my conclusions as to how these factors must affect the relations of the West with non-European peoples in the future. I leave it to my readers to judge the soundness of these, to correct me if I err, and rebuke me if I allow either prejudice or partiality to influence my fairness in dealing with the question.

Kotgarh
April 1921

S. E. STOKES

II

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN RACIALISM

SEVERAL pages in the article upon "Race," above mentioned, are devoted to demonstrating that while ancient Hellenic culture, and the early Christian development rooted in it, both rose superior to racialism, the European Civilisation which has followed them must be held to have succumbed completely to racialism and furthermore to have produced yet another cleavage of mankind upon the basis of *colour*, which renders it impossible for European peoples to assimilate themselves with the rest of humanity. In quoting from this article, lack of space has necessitated my skipping much that is of interest, but nothing vital to the sense has been omitted. The italics throughout this and subsequent quotations are my own.

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Turning first to the development of Greek culture, the writer says:

“It has been suggested that race-feeling in any human society tends to be in inverse ratio to the vitality of its civilisation. There is no space here to trace this curve of race-feeling through the whole of history consecutively, but it may be tested in two important instances—the civilisations of ancient Greece and modern Europe.

“Ancient Greek civilisation sprang more abruptly out of primitive conditions than ours, and was therefore penetrated by race-feeling more profoundly at its roots. The city-state (which was the ancient Greek state-form, as the national state is ours) was rooted in it. The citizen-body could be supplemented by immigration, but the immigrants remained resident aliens. They might live in the city from father to son, build up its trade, pay its taxes, serve in its wars, but they were still aliens The city-states of ancient Greece were thus racial to the core, and that is why they were never transcended—a failure that was the political ruin of the Greeks.

“*Greek national life*, on the other hand, which sprang from the same origin as the city-state, emancipated itself from race-feeling easily and quickly.

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It has been mentioned that in Greece, as in primitive societies, every racial group was a religious group as well, so that race-feeling and religious feeling were co-extensive. But there were several Greek groups—Delphi, Pisa, and Eleusis—which, as it were, abnormally developed their *religious* side and received into their religious communion neighbour-groups which would have remained hopelessly sundered from them and from each other on the narrow racial principle. Delphi, for example, by the 6th cent. B.C. had received into its ‘amphictyony’ about two-thirds of the Greek-speaking population on the mainland, and had given the common name of Hellene to all Greek-speaking people. This Hellenism was first conceived racially. The Hellene was contrasted with the ‘barbarian’ . . . and was thus distinguished by language . . . (and by) a certain kind of social life. These standards of Hellenism led up to the conception that Hellenism was *not an inalienable and untransmittable race-character*, but a quality that could be acquired.

“During the 5th cent. the Greeks became intimately acquainted with peoples strikingly unlike themselves—the Egyptians of the Nile Valley and the Skythians in the Russian steppes, and this might have

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stimulated their race-feeling afresh. To recognize a common Hellenism in the descendants of Theseus and the descendants of Herakles was one thing, but to recognize a common humanity in men with brown skins or men who never tilled the ground needed a greater intellectual effort. The Greeks, however, accomplished this feat of imagination. The strangeness of the country and climate in Egypt and Skythia struck them as forcibly as the strangeness of the inhabitants, and they concluded that the latter was conditioned by the former, and that the Skythians, Egyptians and Hellenes were of the same metal stamped with a different impress by the diverse environments into which it had been introduced. *Thus the experience of alien human types, so far from stimulating race feeling in the Greeks, tended to make them sceptical of race altogether.*

“ . . . But, if the group-differences between Hellene, Egyptian and Skythian, European and Asiatic, were accidental and alterable by human endeavour, if your group character merely depended on whether you lived a thousand miles nearer the equator or the Pole, in a swamp or on a mountain, whether you built your city with this aspect or that, whether you let yourself be governed by a king or by

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the people, *then racial barriers were potentially abolished.* Any barbarian, by taking thought, could raise himself into a Hellene, and any Hellene could sink into a barbarian.

“This conception of Hellenism, not as a race but as a *culture for all humanity*, gained ground steadily from the 5th century onwards . . . It is true to say that the idea of Hellenism in ancient Greek civilisation *did transcend completely the idea of race inherent in the city-state.* It made possible a feeling of unity between all men, and passed over without a break into Christianity. (Vol. 10, pp. 554-556.)

This is the gist of the writer's position and it seems to me quite clear. In her *political* solidarity Greece failed, in that, by refusing equal rights to aliens in her political unit, because they were not of the same stock, she was unable to attain a united Greece. And in this the British Empire is following in her steps today. On the other hand her culture, rising triumphantly above the spirit of racialism and of prejudices based upon differences of colour, became a mighty instrument for the unifying of humanity.

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How vastly the spirit of modern European civilisation has differed from that of ancient Greece, the writer then proceeds to indicate, beginning with the racial attitude of early Christianity, in which he asserts that the Hellenic feeling of unity between all men was carried on without a break.

Christianity was in principle the "antithesis of race-feeling." It recognised "in Christ".... "neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian nor Scythian, bond or free." The *Civitas Dei* of which Saint Augustine dreamed, and which the greatest of the Popes endeavoured to translate into reality, had no place in it for the exclusive racial conception. Moreover "the Latin Church of the Middle Ages, with its common ecclesiastical organization, common culture-language and common outlook on life, overrode race-feeling triumphantly. It assimilated the outer barbarians who broke into the Roman Empire in its decay. It initiated into European civilisation entire populations which had lain entirely outside the Roman pale—Angles and Saxons,

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Scandinavians, Poles, Hungarians, Lithuanians." At that period these were the only pagans with which it came into general contact, but in its earlier days all Christians were felt to be fellow-citizens in every sense of the word, whether their birthplace was Egypt, or Carthage, or Antioch, or Rome, or Gaul. How completely this state of affairs has disappeared we shall let the writer show :

"But this great anti-racial force, upon which European civilisation was founded, has been invaded by race-feeling to an increasing degree."

It is thus that he continues his theme and proceeds to show how European civilisation gradually disintegrated under the influence of linguistic and doctrinal differences, until, in comparatively modern times, it emerged with the basis of its present form, split up into groups held together by the affinity of a common language, which presently hardened into the racial units of today. With this phenomenon of a developing racialism *within* the European group we are not directly concern-

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ed in this essay, and must pass on, merely observing by the way how much less enlightened was the spirit which produced it than that of the ancient Hellenic culture, which, starting from a far more racial basis, transcended racialism and colour-prejudice in its conception of the essential unity of all mankind. The unity of Hellenic culture was grounded upon the consciousness of a common attitude toward life upon the part of those who shared it, and deemed all men, by right of their humanity, entitled to participate in it if they so desired. Modern European civilisation, on the contrary, has split upon externals, and has been content to allow externals to destroy the feeling of essential unity which it inherited from the Greeks and from the early Christian ideal.

We have seen how in the 5th cent. B.C. Hellenic culture reacted in its first contact with races of another complexion and other habits than its own. Let us now see how European civilisation reacted under similar

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conditions. We quote again from the article we have been studying :

“About the time of the Reformation, the great maritime discoveries brought Europeans into contact with other populations markedly different from the people of Europe and W. Asia in externals. Their pigmentation was at the opposite extreme of the human colour scale ; their culture was too primitive to be placed in any scale of comparison at all with European culture, and the climate in which they lived was tropical instead of temperate. In coming into contact with these populations, Europeans were having the same experience as the Greeks when they came in contact with the Egyptians and the Skythians, *but their reaction to it was not the same.*

“The Greeks, struck by the environmental contrast, as much as by contrast in human type, explained the latter by the former, and concluded that all human beings, however acute their superficial differences, were the same in essence, and that every variation of human kind was potentially transmutable into every other.

“The Europeans were struck so forcibly by the external differences that it never occurred to them to

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explain their origin by the secondary influence of environment, or to look forward to their elimination by change of environment, or progress in culture. The differences hypnotized them as the one overwhelming fact. The black man might become a Christian, he might adopt European clothes or habits of life, but he remained black and the European white. *The colour-barrier presented itself to the European as insurmountable, and it displaced religion for him as the dividing-line between people within the pale of civilisation and people without.* Instead of classifying mankind as Christians and Pagans, transmutable by conversion into one another, he now classified them as 'White men' and 'Natives', the 'White race' and the 'Black race', divided from one another by external objective characteristics, which no act or will on either side could surmount.

"Just as the Greek hypothesis of adaptation to environment, as an explanation of the Egyptian and the Skyth, *reacted on his own feeling of Hellenism, making it more humane and unracial in quality*, so the European's hypothesis of a specific difference between black and white, *reacted on his own growing nationalism and made it more uncompromisingly racial than it need otherwise have been.*" (pp. 556, 557.)

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I would call the attention of those who expect that India may ever attain a position of real equality in an Empire, composed as is the British, to the following comparison made by the writer between the spirit of the Muslim and the European Christian. It should be noted that I am not dealing in this paper with the question of inter-marriage between Europeans and non-Europeans, but with *the attitude of mind which makes it impossible*. His observation is this :

“The internal unity and external assimilative power that Christendom possessed can be inferred by comparison with the Islamic world as it still is..... The Muslim missionary in W. Africa, or India, makes more converts than the Christian missionary, because he really receives his converts into his own group, treats them as social equals and gives them his daughters in marriage, *while the European missionary is divided by the colour-bar from Christian natives just as acutely as from the pagan*, and can only organize his converts into a ‘native church’, which is still outside the pale of the European community.” (p. 557.)

This is no mere theory. A very cursory study of the relations at present existing between

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the Western missionary community, in this land, and their converts, must demonstrate even to the most obtuse of us that the injunctions of their faith itself have no longer the power to bridge the racial gulf, so deep has it become. When even those who have devoted their lives to the service of Christ have thus succumbed to the fetish of racialism and colour-consciousness, despite the fact that it is the very antithesis of the attitude of early Christianity, can we wonder that it is evinced by other Europeans?

With the above I conclude the analysis of the article upon "Race," in so far as it touches my argument. I have taken it in preference to the numberless quotations that could be made from books of less authority. Its presence in the 'Encyclopaedia' is quite sufficient guarantee of its reliability. The only question is, What have we learnt from it?

One fact that clearly emerges is, that this modern European civilisation, to the requirements of which all non-European humanity are expected to adapt themselves, stands

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for a definite cleavage of the human race upon a permanent basis—for the setting up of a colour-bar. In other words, it stands for the erection of an impossible social barrier between the “white world” and the “world of colour.” Not only has this been implied throughout the article we have been studying, but passages which I shall subsequently quote from other sources will render this an indubitable certainty to the most sceptical of readers.

We are not primarily concerned at present with the *social* significance of European racialism. We are not interested in the views of a few zoologists and ethnologists, whose racial bias leads them into various absurdities. If it amuses them to divide mankind into yellow, black, brown and white races, and the white again into Alpine, Mediterranean and Nordic stocks, let them do so by all means, and devote the rest of their energies to demonstrating that the preservation and advancement of the particular stock from which they claim to spring is the only thing which really matters. The theories of such

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people do not bother us. They who profess them will not be the first to arrive at the conviction that their own particular ancestors were 'the salt of the earth'. If our political and economic relations with the exponents of European civilisation are as they should be, we can leave the question of our social relations to settle themselves.

But if the mighty nations of the West, who at this moment enjoy the greatest hegemony of mankind that this earth has yet witnessed, hold the opinion that they are a superior race of men, and that the interests of all other peoples must be sacrificed for the development of their super-humanity, then we are all *vitally* concerned. Until we have come to some definite conclusion as to the extent to which their racialism affects their political and economic relations with the rest of the world, we are not in a position to decide intelligently as to whether India, or any other non-European nation, can in association with them attain to real equality of status and opportunity.

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In the next section I shall attempt, with the aid of the 'Cambridge Modern History' and other authorities, to answer this question, and show the manner and extent to which the expansion of European civilisation has been affected by its racialism.

III

EUROPEAN WORLD-SUPREMACY AND WESTERN RACE-CONCEPT

THE object of this section is to illustrate by quotations from the 'Cambridge Modern History' and other sources, the rapidity with which the nations of Europe have been advancing their interests all over the world during modern times, the nature of the control obtained by them, and the ideals upon which this effort for world-supremacy is founded. Until we clearly visualize the situation and arrive at a true conception of its implications, we shall not be in a position to judge correctly how far the interests of the great European powers are compatible with those of the rest of mankind.

And surely we are justified in studying this question, and in voicing the doubts that

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may arise in our minds. The interests of mankind as a whole are more important than those of any single people, or group of peoples. On a correct appreciation of the factors involved in the question before us, and upon a right solution of the problem therein involved, hang the destinies of two-thirds of mankind, and, one might add, the moral destiny of the remaining third.

What do the nations who hold the hegemony of the world desire? What is the aim of this European civilisation? What place do the non-European peoples hold in the white man's dream of the future? What is to be the status of our children in the world, which European civilisation is attempting to build up? Surely no fair-minded fellow man can blame us, if we ask such questions of those to whose hands God has entrusted such responsibilities. We would know the meaning of "The White Man's Burden", for, as Doctor Dillon justly remarks, "No race, however inferior, will consent to famish slowly in order that other people may fatten and take their ease."

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The means by which the progressive world-domination of European nations has been secured come under two categories :

(1) Advancement of their mercantile and industrial supremacy, by securing the political and economic control of territories inhabited by non-European peoples, whose indigenous governments they terminated, either by force of arms, or a process of progressive disintegration.

(2) An increase of their *racial* power, obtained through the annexation and colonisation of large areas sparsely populated by "backward" peoples.

For the purposes of this essay, the second of these categories is of primary importance, for it is in studying the plans which European nations have evolved for the future of their own race that we shall most correctly gauge the nature of the position which they would assign to the rest of mankind. Of the first, I would, however, remark in passing that it rendered the second possible, and point out, in the words of a recent western writer,

"the tremendous advantages accruing to the white world from exploitation of undeveloped coloured

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lands, and from the exports of manufactured goods to coloured markets. The prodigious wealth thereby amassed has been a prime cause of white prosperity, has buttressed up the maintenance of white world-hegemony and has made possible much of the prodigious increase of white population."

As regards India, the 'Cambridge Modern History' says in this connection: "The resources of her commerce and the prestige which her possession confers have set Britain in the foremost place among the nations of the worldNo effort, no sacrifice, has been considered too great to retain the splendid prize."

As regards the second category, we have only the colonisation developments of the British Empire and the United States of America to consider, since Germany has been eliminated from this field of activity as a result of the recent war, and France has shown no marked inclination to utilize her territorial acquisitions in this manner. Moreover, for the purpose of our study we may consider the

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British and American development as identical; for in racial questions the attitude of America is but the expression of the ideal of the Anglo-Saxon people from which she sprang. The fact that her colonisation is within her own political borders does not affect the question; for the ever westward trend of American and Canadian settlement marks but the culmination of that long march toward the sunset which their ancestors began in the shadows of the prehistoric past. Throughout the rest of this essay, therefore, the manifestations of British and American race-consciousness will be treated together.

The opening pages of the twelfth volume of the 'Cambridge Modern History' are highly instructive. This volume is entitled, 'The Latest Age', and in the chapter '*Modern Europe*' it is easy to note throughout an unconscious but distinct European bias—a "White Man's" bias—in the writer's dealing with the question of relations with the 'natives'. But, of course, this is natural. In spite of this, quite sufficient is given to indicate the true state of affairs.

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The following is an abstract of the pertinent passages :

“ In this period, the History of Europe becomes in a sense the History of the World. In the sixteenth century, the European system embraced only a part of the European continent.....The great geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries prepared the way for the later spread of European civilisation and European principles of government, but the full effect of these discoveries was not felt until the nineteenth century.

“In 1784 the existence of an independent federation of European communities in the North American Continent was formally recognised. But much remained to be done before the whole of that vast territory was conquered and colonised, and reduced to the European pattern. During the first half of the nineteenth century, European domination swept steadily onward and the period covered by this volume has witnessed the final consolidation, all over the United States, of a new and fairly homogeneous race; absorbing Anglo-Saxons, Celts, Germans, Spaniards, Italians, Slavs, *accepting every European variety, but rejecting Mongolian intruders with resolute aversion; dwelling in enforced proximity with*

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multitudes of African negroes, but refusing to admit them to social or real political equality . . . the British and French community in Canada has been moving forward somewhat more slowly but on parallel paths, until the whole of the North American Continent has become subject to a trans-Atlantic European stock, predominantly British in certain characteristics, but constituting through the blending of races and the influence of surroundings, a novel European type or types.

“Meanwhile, in the far South-East, other semi-independent communities have been growing to political maturity. The Australian States have been consolidated and united in a great Federal Union. The British Dominion of New Zealand is firmly established. There also we see the same determination to preserve the European type uncontaminated and to forbid the intrusion of Mongols or other Asiatics.

“In South Africa, again, we see an instinctive aversion from Asiatic immigration over-powering any imperial sympathy of common citizenship, and demanding unanimously that Europeans alone should be admitted as colonists. But, there, State-builders are also confronted with the more difficult problem of

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the political relations between the dominant European minority and the aboriginal inhabitants, who form the greater part of the population. Whatever temporary expedients may be adopted, *it is certain that the European inhabitants will demand and obtain political and social predominance.*"

Thus Stanley Leathes, historian and First Civil Service Commissioner writes ; and to the above we may add the remark of another prominent student of history :

" Slowly the British Empire is shaping itself into a league of Anglo-Saxon peoples, holding under its sway vast tropical dependencies, as well as many small communities of mixed race. Strong bonds of common loyalty, race and history, as well as the need for co-operation and defence, unite the white peoples." (p. 671.)

What unites the coloured races the writer has forgotten to mention.

As a consequence of the special advantages which the European nations have enjoyed from the system of expansion and world-exploitation initiated by them, there has naturally been a vast increase in their man-power. The

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expansion of the European population during the last four centuries is the most prodigious phenomenon in history. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the entire population of the British Isles did not exceed three millions; at present the white population of the British Empire and the United States is nearly one hundred and fifty millions. Upon this increase and its significance I quote Viscount Bryce, who in his introduction to "The Book of History" (pp. 40-41) says:

"It (i. e. the increase of population) is most conspicuous among the European races, and is, of course, due to the greater production, in some regions of food, and in others of commodities wherewith food can be purchased. It means an immense addition to the physical force of mankind in the aggregate . . .

And, of course, *it also means a great and growing preponderance of the civilised white nations*, which are now probably one half of mankind, and may in another century, when they have risen from about five hundred to, possibly, one thousand or fifteen hundred millions, be nearly two-thirds."

Bryce's estimate of a half is too high; over a third is probably nearer the mark.

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Yet as a representative of the very best type of British statesmen, a short abstract of his conception of the future development of mankind is of value. I quote again :

“The modern European type of civilisation is being diffused over the whole earth, superseding, or essentially modifying, the older local types The world is, in fact, becoming an enlarged Europe so far as the externals of life and the material side of civilisation are concerned It may be predicted that population will continue to increase, at least till the now waste, but habitable parts of the earth have been turned to account; that races, *except where there is a marked colour line*, will continue to become intermingled”.

It is of interest to note that a British statesman of even such liberal sympathies as Lord Bryce is as little capable of imagining the passing of the colour-bar as the less enlightened of his race.

Of course the European recognizes that the solution of the “colour problem” in places where the ‘natives’ are too numerous to die out, must be different to that in America and

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Australasia. So far as South Africa is concerned, a quite ingenious plan has been suggested by Sir Harry Johnston, one of the most prominent and liberal of Britain's colonial statesmen. He argues that "every inducement of teaching, all fair persuasion," might be employed toward the negroes, with a view to getting them to "leave the high cold regions of the temperate coast lands and migrate to the magnificent territories of British Central Africa". There, simultaneously with the building up of a 'White South Africa' in the lands from which the negroes had been "induced" to depart, (and which, of course, include all the seaboard), a 'Black Central Africa' would be built up for the black man. The climate there, Sir Harry remarks, "is well suited to the negro physical development." "Gradually in this way the two races might draw apart, the black men living more to the east and north, and the white to the south and southwest." (The Book of History, pp. 5651-2). I have no doubt that this would be very satisfactory for the 'White men'; an assurance of

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an equal partnership in the Empire might be used to make it attractive to 'the blacks'.

Now the above abstract, while showing very clearly European racialism in its working, is expressed in the restrained and dignified language of statesmen and scholars. Even Sir Harry Johnston, though one of the frankest and most outspoken of writers, gives us no idea of the passionate determination of the Anglo-Saxon to guard those areas over which they have obtained control for the exclusive use of the future generations of their race, quite irrespective of the needs of the rest of mankind. I propose, therefore, to give some examples illustrating the ideals and conceptions of the American and of those colonial communities in conjunction with which the Liberals expect us to win a position of equality within the Empire.

Do the Liberals really think that these colonials might be induced to do justice to the Asiatic for the sake of the Empire? The 'Cambridge Modern History' itself says of the South African colonials that they exhibit "an instinctive

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aversion from Asiatic immigration, *overpowering any imperial sympathy of common citizenship*, and demanding unanimously that Europeans alone should be admitted as colonists”.

So much for South Africa ; hear now the less guarded sentiments of an Australian upon the Imperial connection :

“The ‘White Australia’ idea is not a political theory. It is a gospel. It counts for more than religion ; for more than flag, because the flag waves over all sorts of races ; *for more than empire. For the empire is mostly black, or brown or yellow*, is largely heathen, largely polygamous, partly cannibal.” (Quoted by J. F. Abbott in “Japanese Expansion and American Policies.”)

I myself know well that this is the spirit of Australia, and further more that her people intend to extend the ‘White Australia’ policy to their new mandates in the Pacific. Nor is the policy a new one. Many years ago the lines for it were laid down by Sir Henry Parkes, who said :

“It is our duty to preserve the type of the British nation, and we ought not for any consideration

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whatever to admit any element that would detract from, or in any appreciable degree lower, that admirable type of nationality. We should not encourage or admit among us any class of persons whatever, whom we are not prepared to admit to our franchises, to all our privileges as citizens, and all our social rights, including the right of marriage."

During his first presidential campaign, Woodrow Wilson said with regard to Asiatic immigration :

"I stand for the policy of exclusion. The whole question is one of assimilation of diverse races. We cannot make a homogeneous population of a people who do not blend with the Caucasian race."

His view was true to the sentiment of America, and finds recent expression from the United States Immigration Bureau, which has recommended that the 'barred zone' should in future be made to cover not merely parts of Asia, but *all the rest of the non-white world*. In his 1919 report, the Commissioner-General of Immigration says :

"The Bureau respectfully suggests consideration of the extension of the barred zone to such parts of

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Asia as are not included therein nor affected by exclusion laws or agreements, and also to Africa and adjacent islands, so as to exclude inhabitants who are of the unassimilable classes."

Justice Burnett of California well expresses the feeling at the back of such recommendations when he says :

"The Pacific States comprise an empire of vast potentialities, and capable of supporting a population of many millions. Those now living there propose that it shall continue to be a home for them and their children, and that they shall not be overwhelmed and driven eastward by an ever-increasing yellow and brown flood."

Lothrop Stoddard in a recent book remarks, "Nothing is more striking than the instinctive and instantaneous solidarity which binds together Australians and Afrikaners, Californians and Canadians, into a 'sacred union' at the mere whisper of Asiatic immigration", and there is little doubt that this attitude is the conscious or unconscious expression of their determination that the "white" nations shall

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“retain control of the vast African, Australasian, and South American areas they have staked out as preserves to be peopled at leisure.” (Ross, “Changing America”, pp. 46-48).

This author further asserts that “Dams against the colour races, with spillways of course for students, merchants, and travellers, will presently inclose the white man’s world.” The *Sydney Morning Herald* speaks of building up the nation “sufficiently strong to be successful in the struggle for the vacant lands of the Pacific.” It seems rather anomalous, does it not, that those members of the Empire, to an equal partnership with whom we are invited to aspire, are preparing, despite our need and their superfluity, to struggle with us upon the basis of colour-difference for the vacant lands lying off our coasts—lands the natural inhabitants of which are themselves of the non-white races! If the situation were not so sinister, it would be quite amusing!

In the same paper, the writer says, “Today the peoples of the world are in dire

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want, and in the direst want are the myriads of the East." Yes, it is only too true; no nations are in direr want than the over-crowded lands of India, Japan and China. But does this thought kindle in the breasts of the western nations any sense of their responsibility to help? It does not. What answer does this thought of the East's dire need call from our Australian writer? "Australia," he says, "is to them a land of plenty. We shall have to show our right to hold this land of plenty. Our title depends first upon our possession of it, and secondly upon our power to hold it." Such is the answer of this potential partner with us in a fellowship of common interest. Or hear an American writer upon the same subject:

"Where, then, should the congested coloured world tend to pour its accumulating human surplus, inexorably condemned to emigrate or starve? The answer is: into those emptier regions of the earth under white political control. But many of the relatively empty lands *have been set aside by the white man as his own special heritage*. The upshot is that the rising flood of colour finds itself walled in by

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white dykes debarring it from many a promised land which it would fain deluge with its dusky waves.”
(Stoddard.)

But has Stoddard an answer for those “inexorably condemned to emigrate or die”? Yes, an answer which is no answer to our need. “We Whites,” he says, “will have to abandon our tacit assumption of permanent domination over Asia, while Asiatics will have to forego their dreams of migration to white lands and penetration of Africa and Latin America.”

A scientific writer solves the problem to his own satisfaction, if not to ours :

“Eugenics among individuals is encouraging the propagation of the fit, and limiting or preventing the multiplication of the unfit. World-eugenics is doing precisely the same thing as to races considered as wholes. Immigration restriction is a species of segregation on a large scale, by which inferior stocks can be prevented from both diluting and supplanting good stocks. Just as we isolate bacterial invasions, and starve out the bacteria by limiting the area and amount of their food supply, so we can compel an

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inferior race to remain in its native habitat, where its own multiplication in a limited area will, as with all organisms, eventually limit its numbers and therefore, its influence. On the other hand, the superior races more self-limiting than others, *with the benefits of more space and nourishment, will tend to still higher levels.* (S. Hall, in the *Journal of Heredity*, March, 1919.)

No wonder our friend wishes to segregate us, if he considers us a sort of ethnic disease!

Having quoted at some length, with a view to showing the European's difficulties in dealing with 'The White Man's Burden', I shall close this list by a quotation from Stoddard which seems to me to put very aptly the average educated European's conception of his relation to the rest of mankind, and his ideal for the future of his people:

"Out of the prehistoric shadows, the white races pressed to the front and proved in a myriad ways their fitness for the hegemony of mankind. Gradually they forged a common civilisation; then, when vouchsafed their unique opportunity of oceanic mastery four centuries ago, they spread over the

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earth, filling its empty spaces with their superior breeds and *assuring to themselves an unparalleled paramountcy of numbers and dominion.*"

In the foregoing part of the essay, I think I have given enough to illustrate the practical bearing of the colour-consciousness of the western nations upon their political, social and economic relations with the rest of mankind. I have chosen my quotations with anxious care, trying always to omit such as would needlessly arouse ill feeling. I could have added to the number indefinitely, but it would have been useless. Those of us who have been studying the relations of Asiatics with South Africa, Fiji and Canada, during the last few years, will not need even the illustrations I have given to grasp my point.

In the next section, I shall attempt to sum up the situation, and submit my conclusions with regard to its moral significance.

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I have found this section extremely difficult to write. Again and again I have tried unsuccessfully to put my conclusions upon paper, without being unjust and at the same time without sacrificing the truth. It has been well nigh impossible; there is so much that is fine and worthy of all praise in the West,—so much bold idealism and so many high qualities that bespeak a people nobler than the system they have evolved, that one is apt to confuse issues. I have tried not to do this, for, gratefully and joyously as we may recognise such manifestations of self-sacrifice and philanthropy, of high endeavour and conscientiousness in individuals, our *real issue* is with the system of which the European peoples are the exponents. We have set ourselves to

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study its aims and their significance to that majority of mankind who do not belong to the European group. It is only when we understand the goal, which Modern European Civilisation has set itself, that we shall be in a position to judge if it is such as to merit the co-operation of non-European peoples. I have attempted in this section to make that goal clear.

In the preceding pages, we have seen the manner in which the peoples of the West reacted, when, several centuries ago, they first came in general contact with races of a different complexion and civilisation than their own. We have seen how, as a result of this contact, the Western nations have raised a 'colour-bar,' permanently dividing humanity into two categories. We have noted how, out of this, they have evolved the conception of a "white man's world" and a "coloured world." It has also been seen how, as a result of this conception, a determination has arisen upon the part of the 'white races' to permit no non-European peoples to settle within the

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borders of those broad and sparsely inhabited areas which they have annexed and set apart for themselves. We have seen, moreover, that this determination is most marked in the Anglo-Saxon group, with one section of which India is at present politically associated.

How then does this separatist tendency upon the part of the European peoples affect the interests of the rest of the human race? Very seriously and in a number of ways. We will consider two of them.

(1) Economists universally recognise, that it is becoming increasingly difficult for the congested and growing populations of China, Japan and India to subsist within their own borders. The time is approaching when, as Stoddard says, many of their people will be "inexorably compelled to emigrate or starve." Not only in all the world is their need the 'direst', but it is the need of a group of peoples composing more than half the human race. Contiguous to central and southern Asia lie vast, relatively empty areas, obviously

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fitted to meet this sore need—on the north Siberia, to the south Australasia.

On the ground of 'the greatest need of the greatest number,' on the ground of geographical contiguity, by every principle of morality and justice, these lands must be considered nature's provision for meeting Asia's overflow of population. Moreover, if we study the migrations of the various groups of peoples, we shall find that they further confirm the right of the Asiatic groups to egress in these directions and in that of the Americas. Spreading in prehistoric ages from the steppes of central Asia, the path of Mongol advance was roughly speaking eastward, that of the ancestors of the present inhabitants of southern Asia was southward, while the path of migration for the ancestors of the present European races stretched over to the west. Now it was in the nature of things, that the eastward tending Mongols should be met by the westward marching European peoples in the Americas. It was also natural that as the population of South-eastern Asia grew

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congested it should continue its march southward, slowly spreading to contiguous islands with the prospect of ultimately peopling the Philippines and Australasia. But I contend that it was *not* natural or conducive to the world's welfare for the westward-sweeping peoples of Europe to permit small groups of their compatriots, wandering far from the path of their race, to obtain possession of those lands which lay in the paths of the other great migrations, and forthwith close them to all but their own people. And yet that is exactly what the British race has done, and at the present moment the British Empire stands for the shutting off of the Asiatic races from this, their natural and legitimate path of economic and racial salvation.

As I have just said, it was natural that Mongols and Europeans should meet in the Americas, for they lay in the race-paths of both groups. As a matter of fact, there is little doubt that the peoples found by the Europeans when they reached the New World, were the descendants of an early Mongol

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immigration, and we must therefore recognise that this group first established contact with the Western continent. Yet the Anglo-Saxon group, both British and American, now stand firmly determined for resistance in the path of the advancing Mongol peoples. It was in America that these groups should have met and mingled, but the Americans are declaring for a "White America." The Mongols will be able to secure some relief by overflowing into Siberia when they require it, but this in no way mitigates the wrong done by closing the shores of the New World to the 'yellow races.'

In Africa, again, we see a different set of problems resulting from this deflection of European peoples from their normal westward path. Here, as in Australasia and the Americas, the Anglo-Saxon race stands for the exclusion of Asiatics, thus cutting them off from the only remaining large area where it would have been possible for them to relieve their growing congestion. It also stands, in conjunction with other

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European powers, for the economic exploitation, and, if possible, the racial segregation of the African under conditions which preclude all possibility of his ever attaining to a position of political, social, and economic equality with the Afrikanders.

To put the matter very briefly, the peoples of Europe have utilized the wonderful opportunity afforded them by the mechanical revolution of last century, with its consequent development of traffic facilities, to aggrandize the "White world" at the expense of the rest of mankind, by staking out as their own peculiar possession all the vacant areas of the earth's surface which would otherwise have remained available for the expansion and settlement of the human race, and now, so far as the non-European races are concerned, they are naturally anxious to maintain the *status quo*. I admit that I may be mistaken, but from my studies I am absolutely unable to arrive at any other conclusion than that the British Empire and the United States are completely

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committed to this policy of shutting up the peoples of Asia and Africa within their own borders, while they populate at their leisure all vacant habitable areas with their own people.

I would not for a moment imply, that this process has gone on under the impulse of any such consciously sinister purpose. Those who first settled in Australia, Africa and America knew little of the needs of other races. It has only been of comparatively recent years, with growth of colonial European communities, that this conception has come to the fore. Nor, in view of the weakness of human nature, and the very limited outlook of most men as regards other races, am I prepared, to blame the rank and file of colonials and Americans for their attitude; for I am certain that but few of them in any degree realize the implications of their position. In truth we are not concerned with measuring how much of their attitude is the result of ignorance and how much of it denotes the wilful betraying of humanity as a whole for their

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own selfish advantage. For us the question rather is : Can India afford to be permanently associated with a political unit, which, with the United States, stands above all others committed to a policy of racial segregation upon the basis of colour? If the answer is in the negative, then surely it is useless for us to talk about our goal as being "Self-government within the British Empire."

(2) The setting up of a line of cleavage in the human race by the institution of a colour-bar is perhaps that achievement of modern European civilisation which will be most far-reaching in its effects. The world used to be a world of many peoples, overlapping and mingling with each other where their borders met. Invading nations either drove the populations of conquered countries across the border into neighbouring lands, or settling down among them gradually became amalgamated with the original inhabitants. Thus races tended gradually to approximate to each other, and slowly the unity of humanity was being evolved. This would have gone on

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increasingly as man's numbers grew. The Muslim faith, in particular, was rendering a great service to mankind along these lines. The European System, on the other hand, especially in recent times, has been instrumental in fixing a barrier, which, if maintained, will definitely eliminate any possibility of the ultimate unification of humanity. In future there are to be two species of the genus 'homo,'—one *white*, the other *coloured*. The "superior race" is to be afforded every opportunity of environment whereby to grow to still greater superiority; the "coloured" majority of the human race are to be restricted as far as possible to the territories they now occupy. At any rate they are to be excluded from those contiguous areas into which they would naturally overflow, because the exponents of European civilisation have marked these for themselves and have determined "to preserve the European type uncontaminated and to forbid the intrusion of Mongols and other Asiatics," as the 'Cambridge Modern History' very tellingly puts it. It must be evident to the most

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obtuse that this course will ultimately mean racial deterioration for the peoples thus limited in freedom and opportunity. In another century, when the nations of European stock, growing and developing under the most favourable conditions, uncrowded, unharrassed by poverty, have risen to heights as yet unattained, and in numbers fulfil Lord Bryce's expectations by far outnumbering the rest of mankind, what will be the situation of those other peoples at whose expense these favourable conditions have been secured? Can we imagine that, after a century of ever growing and unrelieved congestion, a century of limitation and initiative killing restrictions, they will not be weaker and more poverty-stricken,—that they will not have sunk in the human scale? If these are the prospects of India, is it not a farce to talk of her attaining to the position of *an equal partner* in the comity of nations known as the British Empire? Yet what more may we expect? Consider what is at this moment taking place in various parts of the world, the 'encouragement' to Indians to leave South

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Africa, the attempts at racial segregation in East Africa, the late occurrences in Fiji, the rounding-up of Asiatics in the United States for the purpose of extradition together with the enactment of still more strict exclusion laws. I have looked for some other meaning in it all—some ray of hope upon the situation—but in vain.

In truth, we have reached an *impasse*. On the one hand, as the 'Cambridge Modern History' admits, the Indian Government finds itself called upon to meet the problem of "*a population pressing ever nearer and nearer to the verge of subsistence*" (Vol. XII, p. 497), while on the other hand the British Imperial Government is forced to deny the relief which emigration would afford, because any attempt to open the vast vacant areas of the Empire to Indian immigration would result in the severance of the Imperial tie by the self-governing dominions and colonies. Had the Government at Whitehall the best will in the world, it could not solve the problem ; for it has been committed by its colonies to

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a policy diametrically opposed to the vital interests of Indians and all other Asiatic races. If this be true, and it is true, how can the Liberals dream of the future of India lying within the Empire?

Because of such considerations as the above I have entitled this essay, 'The Failure of European Civilisation as World Culture.' Surely the title is justified, for a civilisation which is worthy of the co-operation of all the world must be built up with reference to the interests and needs of all mankind. European civilisation, on the contrary, is, unless I greatly err, deeply committed to the principle of race-segregation upon a basis which enormously favours the interests of the "white races."

This has been a sorrowful tale,—this story of the breach of a great trust by a great race, endued with many noble qualities and vouchsafed such opportunities for the uplift of mankind as never before fell to any group of peoples. It is the sad record of the betrayal of humanity for its own ends by a race which

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had inherited the broadening and humane culture of the Greeks, ennobled and spiritualized by the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth. The sadness of it lies in the fact, that it was in the main an unconscious betrayal; the opportunity was too great for those to whom it came.

Yet let us beware lest a consideration of these things should lead us to feelings of anger and scorn. Not even the 'white races' are exempt from their Karma; and as they sow, so shall they reap. As for us, let us ponder before we give vent to our indignation and then,—let him who is without sin amongst us cast the first stone. We must remember that these races of the West are not the first to have raised the colour-bar or to have sacrificed others to their prejudices. After all we are not concerned with cursing those who have perpetrated this wrong upon humanity, but rather with the wrong itself. We must decide without passion the extent to which we can be partners to it; we must decide if our conscience and our

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interest permit us to aspire to 'equal partnership' in a system which is committed to perpetrate this wrong upon the world.

My own conviction I have referred to in the opening sentences of this essay. I take this occasion to express it again. Though convinced that our ultimate goal can lie in partnership with no Empire constituted as this Empire is today, and that we should definitely keep before us the goal of complete independence, I am equally convinced that a sudden separation without preparation would spell disaster for the reasons I enumerate elsewhere * Unless I am in error our immediate task is the rectification of relationships between the people of this land and those who govern it. How this is to be done it is for our leaders to decide.

A few more words, and I shall conclude. Here in my study, in the quiet of the hills, I have felt increasingly impelled to ponder over the problems discussed in this essay. One thing

* See Part II.

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at least appears clear to me: No culture is worth striving for which is grounded in selfishness. No nationalism is worth straining for that does not stretch beyond the interests of one's race so as to include the interests of all humanity. Let us pour out our all for India to make her strong and free; but let us do it for humanity. Let our inspiration be,—“All we possess for India, and India for mankind.” If we can but keep this thought in our hearts, and, banishing selfish passion, rise to the realisation of the underlying unity of all life, it may be India's high destiny to show to torn and distracted peoples of our world the path to a truer and a nobler culture,—a culture that will unify mankind.

Not by hatred, not with anger, can we gain our end, if our end be worth the gaining. These are of *ahankar*, and lead to darkness. Where we see evil, selfishness, injustice, let us stand unflinchingly against them, regardless of personal consequences, hating the deed and not the doer; for the doer is but *our other self*. This is the *Satya Marg*; there is no other.
